

PANJĀB UNDER THE GREAT MUGHALS

1526—1707 A. D.

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CHANDIGARH

BY

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آه گر من باز بنم روی یار خویش را -
تا قیامت شکر گویم کردگار خویش را -

“Ah! Could I behold the face of my beloved once more
I would give thanks unto my God unto the day of resurrection”

— Jahangir —

Inscribed on the tomb of Anarkali, Lahore

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Ja

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INTRODUCTION

THE PANJĀB-(Etymology)

The word Panjāb derives from two Persian words "Panj" and "Āb" (پنج آب) meaning "five" and "water", respectively. Thus, etimologic¹ it means the Land of Five Waters (Rivers). Ibn Battuta, who entered India at the beginning of the year A.H. 734 (13th September, 1333 A.D.) writes, "We reached the Valley of Sind known as the Panjāb, which mean² five waters." Generally it was taken to be the tract lying between the rivers Indus and the Jamuna. The boundaries of the Panjāb have been shrinking and swelling from time to time over the last many centuries. In the Vedic period, the province was known as "Sapt-Sindhu" as it included all the territory covered by the seven rivers, namely the Indus (Sindhu), the Vitasta (Jhelum), the Asuki (Chenab), the Parushni³ (Ravi), the Vipas (Beas), the Sutdra (Satiej) and the Saraswati. After some time, when the Greeks occupied this province, they called it Pentapotania, "Penta" from Greek "Pente", meaning five and "Potanas"⁴ meaning rivers. In those days, there were thirty seven flourishing cities and towns, but a few centuries later, i.e., after the Greek⁵ occupation, the Panjab was named as Taki "The Kingdom which Hwen Tsiang calls Tse-kia or Taki, embraced the whole of the plains of the Panjab from the Indus to the Beas, and from the foot of the mountains⁶ (Himalayas) to the junction of the five rivers (Panjnad), below Multan. It was called "Taki" after a powerful tribe of that name which ruled here for a pretty long time.

It seems quite certain that the name must have been derived from the tribe of Taks or Takkas, who once were the undisputed lords of the

1. -De la Hoya, P.1
2. -Mahdi Husain, PP.1-2,5
3. It rises in N. N., close to the borders of Ambala District.
4. The Greeks name these rivers as Hydaspes (Jhelum), Akesines (Chenab), Hydrotas (Ravi), Hyphariss (Beas), and Zaradros (Satiej).
5. On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India-Vol.II, Thomas Watters, P.255
6. The Ancient Geography of India-Cunningham, P.170

II

Panjab, and who still exist as numerous agricultural race in the lower hills between the Jhelum and the Ravi. In the seventh century the kingdom of Taki was divided into three provinces, namely, Taki in the North and West, Shorkot in the East, and Multan in the South. According to A.^CO. Cunningham:- "The province of Taki comprised the plains of the Panjab, lying between the Indus and the Beas, to the north of Multan district, or the whole of the Chaj Doab, together with the upper ¹ portions of the three Doabs of Sindh-Sagar, Rechna and Bari."

During the Mughal period, this province was given the name of Subah-Lahore. Abul Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, describes its boundaries as under: "It is situated in the third climate. Its length from the river Sattlej to the river Sind is 180 kos. Its breadth from Bhimbar to Chaukhandi, one of the dependencies of Satgarh, is 86 kos. It is bounded on the East by Sirhind; on the North by Kashmir; on the South by Bikaner and Ajmer; on the West by Multan. It has six principal ² rivers which all flow from the northern mountains."

Manucci who visited India in the reign of Aurangzeb has described the Panjab in these words "It should be known that close to Bhakkar seven rivers unite, - five issuing from the kingdom of Lahore, which have their sources in the mountains of Srinagar and Kashmir, and reach the province of Lahore by five openings. This is why the Kingdom of ³ Lahore is called the Panjab, that is to say 'FIVE WATERS'. ⁴ Gujan Rai Bhandari, (a resident of Batala, Gurdaspur District) the author of a celebrated contemporary work, entitled Khulasa-ut-Tavarikh describes the boundary of the Panjab during Shah Jahan's reign:- "In its length the

1. The Ancient Geography of India-Cunningham, P. 176
India and Pakistan-O.H.K. Spate, P. 463

2. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett-Sarkar (1949), P. 325

3. The great city of Lahore, which has been the capital of the Panjab for nearly nine hundred years, is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rama, after whom it was named Lahavar. Under this form it is mentioned by Abu Rihan, but by the present form of the name Lahore which was soon adopted by the Muslims, has now become the universal.

4. Storia-do-Mogor-Vol. II, Manucci (Irvine), P. 322

5. India of Aurangzeb-J.N. Sarkar, P. LXII

III

Province extended from the river Satlej to the river Indus, a distance of 180 kos, and in its breadth extended from Himber to Chaukhandi¹ (Gujrat District) distance of 86 kos."

The Panjab, under the British rule lay between $37^{\circ} 39'$ and $34^{\circ} 2'$ N. and $69^{\circ} 23'$ and $79^{\circ} 2'$ E. On the north the Himalayan ranges divided the province from Kashmir and the North-West Frontier province. On the West the Indus formed its main boundary with the later province, except that the Panjab included the strip of riverain area which formed the Isa Khel Tahsil of Mianwali District, West of that river. Its south-western extremity also laid West of the Indus and formed the large district of Dera Ghazi Khan, thereby extending its frontier to the Sulaiman range, which divided it from Baluchistan. On the extreme south-west the province adjoined Sindh; and the Rajputana desert formed its southern border. On the east the Jamuna and its tributary Tons divided it from the Utra Pradesh, its frontier north of the sources of the latter's rivers being contiguous with Tibet.²

THE NATURAL DIVISIONS OF THE PANJAB

The Panjab is a triangular piece of land, lying between the Indus and the Jamuna. It was bounded in the North by the vast Himalayan range on the West by the Sulaiman and Khirthar ranges, in the East by the river Jamuna and in the south by the Sind and the Rajputana deserts. On the basis of the natural divisions, the Panjab may be divided into the following regions:

(1) Mountain (2) Submontane (3) The Plains; (i) Ghaggar Plain (ii) Indo Panjab Plain, Eastern (iii) Indo-Panjab Plain, Western (iv) The North-West Upland.

1. India of Aurangzeb-J. N. Sarkar, P. LXII

2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, P. 32

The Panjab, N. W. P. Provinces & Kashmir-Douie, PP. 3-6

Jangnama-Qasi Nur-ud-din, P. 158

1. MOUNTAIN RANGES:- This region is built up by the Himalayas and the Sulaiman-Koh. The Himalayas run across the whole of northern India from Assam in the East to Afghanistan in the West. They run in a south-east curve all along the northern front of India and separate from the plateau of Tibet, include several parallel ranges of lofty mountains, with deep valleys interspersed. They cover a region about 1,500 miles long and 150 to 300 miles in breadth. They served the purpose of a great wall of defence and protected Panjab from the cold bleak winds of the North. The mean summer temperature does not exceed 82°F. - cold in winter with heavy summer and winter precipitation. It has an elevation of twenty thousand feet. Tibet, which from the point of view of physical geography includes a large and little known area in Kashmir to the north of Karakoram range is lofty, desolate, wind-swept plateau with a mean elevation of about fifteen thousand feet. In the part of it which is situated to the north of the north-west corner of Nepal lies the Mansarowar lake, in the neighbourhood of which three great Indian rivers, the Brahmaputra, the Satlej and the ² Indus take their rise. This region always remains covered with snow.

The Hindu-Koh mountains which run from the Pamirs in a south-westerly direction was regarded as the natural boundary of India in the north-west. Further south, Safed Koh, Sulaiman and Kirthar mountains were generally regarded as the north-western boundary of India, separating it from the tableland of Iran.

2. SUB MONTANE:- This region is the lesser Himalayas, with an elevation of six to seven thousand feet. It has a rainfall from thirty to forty inches, the greater part of which is received during the period of summer monsoon. In its lowest ridges, the Himalaya drops to a height of about five thousand feet, but it is a zone of the lowest hills

1. ^{سنگھ} The abode of snow.

2. India and Pakistan, O.H.K. Spate, pp. 463-467

interspersed sometimes with valleys or 'dunes'. These consist of Tertiary sandstones, clays, and boulder conglomerates, the debris in fact which Himalaya has dropped in the course of ages. To these hills and valleys the general name of Shivaliks is given. This region is practically restricted to the Districts of Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Kangra, with its adjoining Himachal States. The 'Sal' tree, which is not found elsewhere to the west of the Jamuna, survives in a single 'doon' (strath) connected with the Kangra Valley, but actually within the northern border of Hoshiarpur District. The Kiarda Doon in Sirmur State and the Kalesar forest in Ambala shelter a number of species that are characteristic or abundant in the Shivalik tract east of the Jamuna. The low hills of Attock, Rawalpindi, Pabhi hills in Gujrat, and Jhelum districts belong to the same system, but the Salt Range is only in part Shivalik. Altogether Shivalik deposits in the Panjab cover an area of thirteen thousand square miles.

The mountain ranges of the Himalayas are a great boon for the people of the province. These mountains formed an admirable defensive rampart of the Panjab against the foreign invasions by land. They present a formidable barrier to an army, though small bodies of traders and missionaries had been crossing over them through difficult routes. The mountains in the north-east, though not an equally effective barrier, have for all practical purposes served India well. They are so steep and so densely forest covered that to cross them is a task of abnormal difficulty, and no considerable body of foreigners known to have passed through this route to the interior of the country.

Mountains in the north-west, however, have proved to be more vulnerable. There are several passes across the Hindu-Koh and along almost all the chief rivers in this region, viz the Sevat and the Chitral running south, and the Kabul, the Kurram, the Tochi and the

1. The Gates of India-Thomas Holdich, pp. 135-36, 80-91, 243-44
The Panjab Peasant in Prosperity & Debt, M.L. Darling, p. 23
Cambridge History of India-Vol. I, pp. 27-34

Gomal, running east to the Indus. These passes have played a dominant part in the Indian history. The melting snow from these mountains provide water to the rivers of the Panjab which prosper the plains in many ways. The monsoon strike against the mountains and give plenty of rainfall. These are a vital source of the economic prosperity of the people since times immemorial and have also greatly added to the fertility and beauty of Panjab's land-scape.

(3) THE PLAINS:

(i) The Ghaggar Plain:- The eastern districts of the Ghaggar Plain have a shorter and less severe cold weather than the western. The summer temperature ranges between 102° and 108° F. and gradually increases as one proceeds towards the west. The eastern half, being directly connected with the Gangetic basin, receives more rainfall than the western. The winter rains are scanty. This region covers the districts of Ambala, Patiala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar i.e. the commissionerary of Ambala. The Ghaggar river was once a stream of much greater importance, and a tributary of the Indus, which it joined below the junction of five rivers of the Panjab near Mithankot; the dry bed of its old course can still be traced far into Bahawalpur territory. The Ghaggar plain was later included in the province of Delhi during the period under our study.

(ii) The Indo-Panjab Plain Eastern:- This plain roughly formed the Subah of Lahore including some portions of the province of the North-West Frontier Province. It had a long cold weather season. Summer temperature ranges between 102° and 107° F. Summer rainfall varied from 15 to 30 inches and the winter rainfall averaged about three inches. This comprised the commissioneraries of Rawalpindi, Lahore and Jullundur.

1. The Panjab N.W.F.P. and Kashmir-Douie, PP. 46-47, 327-34

The Land of the Five Rivers-Trevaskis, P. 10

2. (i) Lahore: Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Shaikhu Districts.

(ii) Rawalpindi: Rawalpindi, Shahpur, Jhelum, Gujrat, Attock and Mianwali Districts.

(iii) Jullundur: Jullundur, Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozepur Districts and the other plain and Hill states.

(iii) The Indo-Panjab Plain Western:- It formed the Subah of Multan, comprising the Districts of Montgomery, Layalpur, Jhang, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan. This plain has a severe cold weather, with great diurnal range of temperature because of the preminance of the sandy tracts. Summer temperature is the highest in the province and ranges between 105° and 110° F. It has a rainfall of five to fifteen inches. It is the driest part of India excepting the Thar desert zone. It is not much benefited by any of the monsoon currents. At Multan there are normally only fifteen days in the year when rain falls.

(iv) The North-West Upland:- This plain extended up to the Hindu-Koh, the outer frontier of India. It has a longer and a colder winter and spring. The summer temperature ranges between 100° and 105° F. The winter rains are heavier than in any other part of the plains, and last till April. The summer rains are late, and diminish as one proceeds towards the west of the area. Average rainfall varies from ¹thir to thirty inches.

The Great Mughals had divided the plains of the Panjab into Doabs i.e. the tracts of land covered by two rivers. They were named as (i) the Sindh-Sagar Doab, the area between the Jhelum and the Indus. This area was not so fertile as others (ii) the Jech or Chaj Doab, the area lying between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab. It was more fertile than the Sindh-Sagar Doab. (iii) The Rachna Doab, covered the rich fertile area between the Ravi and the Chenab. (iv) The Bari Doab included the area between the Beas and the Ravi. This was the most important Doab, comprising the rich alluvial plain. (v) The Bist Jalandhar, included the territory lying between the Beas and the ²Satlej and had a very productive area.

The plains of the Panjab consisted of one vast alluvial plain,

1. India and Pakistan-O.H.K. Spate, PP. 463-465

2. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett-Sarkar, PP. 320-336

The India of Aurangzeb-J.N. Sarkar, PP. 82-102

VIII

broken only by the wide and often shifting channels of its five rivers. The average height of this area is not more than one thousand feet above sea level. The fine but rigorous climate of the province has helped in breeding a hardy martial race capable of enduring the extremes of climate. The dryness of the climate has given prominence to the question of water supply. The success or failure of a crop in the Panjab depended on water supply. Thus naturally, prior to the introduction of modern elaborate schemes of irrigation, the rivers played a very important part in the life of the people and were the deciding factors in the allocation of agricultural areas as well as the distribution of population. As agriculture has always been the mainstay of the inhabitants carrying sediment from the hills, the rivers of the Panjab have formed alluvial deltas, of considerable extent. Their perennial supply of water is an inexhaustible source of irrigation. Their long lazy courses through broad valleys have not only made the lands fertile, but have provided good highways of communication. The scantiness of rainfall affected the vegetable growth of the areas away from the river flooded areas and hence such tracts were used for grazing.

NORTH-WEST-FRONTIER PASSES AND TRADE ROUTES

The Panjab may be roughly described as a triangular plain bounded by mountains on the west and north-east, and a desert on the south. To the north-east lies the Himalayas, the loftiest mountain chain in the world. The main line of the range, the Karakoram, lies far to the north-east, and the actual boundary of the Panjab is a lower range, the Pir Panjal¹, whose snowy crest, is the most conspicuous feature in the winter. Between these two ranges lies the famous valley of Kashmir, North of the apex of the triangle of the Panjab. Karakoram range merges into the Hindu-Koh, which consists of a single broad ridge backed by no plateau and notched by some relatively low passes.

1. The Vedic Age-Bharatiya Bhawan, P. 114
The Land of the Five Rivers-Trevaskis, PP. 5, 242

IX

The difficulties of access from Central Asia through the lowlands of Bactria and on the Oxus to the valley head of Kabul lie rather in the approaches to the North-West Frontier passes than in the passes themselves, but the invaders have been surmounting these difficulties, and the Hindu-Koh, though the natural boundary of India north-westward, has been no effective barrier either in a military or commercial sense. The Hindu-Koh forms the north-eastern bastion of the great plateau of Iran, comprising the modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Iran, which flanks India to the north-west.

One route for the invaders from the north-west, was from the Oxus valley over the Hindu-Koh to Kabul and thence down the Kabul valley to the Indus. Another led from the Caspian sea to Herat and thence straight through the mountains to Kabul, or by an easier detour skirting the Afghan high lands to Kandhar and thence through Ghazni to Kabul. Between it and the Indus lies the Sulaiman range, skirting the Panjab and Sindh, and forming the western frontier of India. These mountains are as lofty and imposing as the Pir Panjal, but these are not so continuous, and are traversed by several routes, which though difficult, are quite practicable for large armies. "These are the outlets through Afghanistan by which Alexander the Great and all subsequent invaders have descended upon the low country of the Panjab; and any one who, after traversing the interminable hill and stony valleys of Afghanistan, has been, on surmounting the last ridge, the vast plain of India spreading out before him in the dusky haze like a sea, may imagine the feelings with which such a prospect was surveyed by those adventurous leaders, when they first looked down upon it from the Asiatic high lands."

Throughout the early Turkish period, the north-west frontier of India remained very vulnerable, for the conquering hordes from Afghanistan were always tempted to cross the Indus and invariably threaten the

1. The Rise of the British Dominion in India-Lyall, VIII-Y

Panjab. In the north-west there are several passes across the Hindu-Koh and along almost all the chief rivers -- in the region viz. the Swat, the Chitral, the Kabul, the Kurram, the Tochi and the Gomal. Through these passes the invaders raided the Panjab from time to time and established their kingdoms here. A brief detail of these passes is given below:

1. KHAIBAR PASS:- This has been the most leading pass, which begins near Jaurud, ten and ^ahalf miles west of Pishawar and twists through the hills for about thirty three miles in a north-westerly direction till it debouches at Dakka. The Khaibar mountains form, indeed, the last spurs of the Safed-Koh, as that mighty range sinks down into the valley of the Kabul river. This pass has always been the great northern route from Afghanistan into India and the most important points in this route are Ali Masjid, (ten miles from Jaurud), Landi Kotal, (the summit of the pass; ten miles farther); and Tor Kham.

The ¹Mughal Emperors always attached great importance to this pass. Babar raided the Panjab, all the times passing through it. Humayun too had traversed this pass more than once. The Khaibar route leads directly across the plains of the Panjab to the interior through the narrow gap between the desert and the mountains. Hence this pass has been more frequently used by the foreign invaders of India, which explains the strategic position of Khaibar pass as the line of defence, and that of the narrow plains to the west of the ^J Yamuna, above Delhi, as the second.

2. KURRAM:- Next to Khaibar, lies the Kurram river which lies between the Paiwar Kotal in the west and the borders of Miranzai in the east. Its maximum length from that to the Paiwar Kotal is 72 miles as the crow flies and its breadth varying from twelve to twenty four miles. Bounded on the north by the Safed-Koh, which separates it from Mingarhar, it adjoins para Chamkani and the country of the Massozai on the

east, its south-eastern corner abutting on the Miransai country of Kohat District. From Khosht Khoram the highest peak of the Kurram river range descends a spur through whose extremity the Kurram river appears to have cut a passage opposite Sadda, and which divides the valley in two parts, Upper and Lower Kurram. Rising in the hills near Ahmedkhel, it flows at first south-west ward, and then turns sharply to the east entering the Agency of Kurram near Khar-tachi and thence flowing due east to Kurram Fort. East of that place its trend is somewhat southward; and at Sadda it turns sharply to the south until it reaches Maro Khel, whence it curves south-east as far as Thal in Kohat District.

Humayun who held Kabul in 1552, occupied it before his conquest of India. Under Akbar it formed part of the TOMAN of Bangash or the Bangshat, being known as Upper Bangash to distinguish it from Lower Bangash, now Kohat District. The Afghans of this tract were the disciples of Pir-i-Roshan and hence became known as Roshanias. These sectaries led the Afghan opposition to Mughal rule and Kurram formed one of their chief strongholds. The line of advance into Afghanistan through the Kurram Valley is easy, and Lord Roberts used it when he marched towards Kabul in 1898. The road to Kabul leaves the river far to the south before it crosses at ¹ Paiwar Kotal.

3. THE TOCHI PASS:- Between the Kurram Valley and the Gomal river is a large block of very rough mountainous country known as Wazirstani after the turbulent clan which occupies it. In the north it is drained by the Tochi. Westward of the Tochi Valley the country rises into lofty mountains. The upper waters of the Tochi and its affluents drain two fine glens known as Birmal and Shawal to the west of the country of the Mahsud Wazirs. The Tochi valley is the direct route from India to Ghazni and about nine centuries ago, when that decayed town was the capital of a powerful kingdom, it must have ^{often} heard the tramp of the armed men

1. The Panjab N.W.F.P. and Kashmir, Douie, PP. 34, 395-96
Imperial Gazetteer of India, N.W.F.P. (1908), PP. 336-339
The Vedic Age-Vol. I, The Bharatiya Bhavan, PP. 92, 242-43

XII

The loftiest peaks of Tochi Valley are Waziristan, Shuidar, Parg-hal overhang Birmal. An alternative route from Kabul lies through Bannu and the Kurram Valley to a point lower down the Indus, where it joins by a route from Ghasni through the Tochi Valley.

4. THE GOMAL PASS:- East of Kajuri Kach the Gomal route passes through tribal territory from where it debouches into the plains of the District of Dera Ismail Khan. The Gomal route is the oldest of all trade routes. Down it there pours yearly a succession of caravans led and followed by thousands of well armed Pathan traders. This route leads along the valley of the Gomal river, through the southern Waziristan, from Murtaza and Domandi, on the borders of Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the Afghan plateau. It is one of the oldest and most frequented trade-routes between southern Afghanistan and the Indus Valley.

5. THE BOLAN PASS:- Far to the south lies this route from Kandhar through Quetta and the Bolan to Sukkar on the Indus. But here invaders, and the conquerors of the Lower Indus were blocked by the desert striking eastwards for the great cities of the plains of the province. This pass was less important as gateway of India than the others. For, just beyond the region where it debouches into the Panjab plain, stretches the great desert of Rajasthan, which bars access to the interior of India. The Khaibar route on the other hand as stated above leads directly across the plains of the Panjab to the interior through the narrow gap between the desert and the mountains.

6. MALA KAND:- This pass crosses the range north of Peshawar, and leads from Sam Rānisai into the Swat Valley. The pass is traversed by an ancient Buddhist road. Zain Khan Koka, a general of Akbar, built a fort there in 1587.

1. Imperial Gazetteer-N.W.P. Province (1908), PP. 246, 247, 119

The Land of the Five Rivers-Travaskis, P. 7

2. Sher Shah-Qanungo (1921), P. 3

3. Gates of India-Thomas Holdich, PP. 143-144

4. The Panjab N.W.P. and Kashmir-Douie, P. 305

Imperial Gazetteer-Provincial Series N.W.P., P. 231

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7. CHITRAL:- Chitral is the Pathan country which ends at the Lowari pass. Beyond, right up to the main axis of the Hindu-Koh is Chitral. It comprises the basin of the Yarkun or Chitral river from its distant source in the Shawar Shur glacier to Arnawai, where it receives from the west the waters of the Bashgul, and is thenceforth known as the Kunar. Its western boundary is the Durand line, which follows a lofty chain sometimes called the Kafirstan range. Another great spur of the Hindu-Koh known as the Shandur range divides Chitral on the east from the basin of the Yasin river and the territories included in the ¹ Gilgit Agency.

8. TIBET PASSES:- The trade with Tibet is carried over lofty passes. Among these are the following:- The Kangwa La (15,500 feet) on the Indian-Tibet Road, through Siala, The Mana (18,000 feet), Niti (16,570 feet) and Balcha Dhura in Garhwal, the Anta Dhura (17,370 feet), Lampuja Dhura (18,000 feet). These were the main passes of the Tibet side which were commonly known as trade routes. No foreign invader overcame through these passes so far but the Chinese are now trying to penetrate into India through these passes. Lieut Col. H.N. Gadwin Austin has given an admirable summary of the orography of the ² Himalayas.

9. KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIAN PASSES:- These smaller trade routes which pass through Kashmir are among the Central Asian trade routes over the Western Himalayas. BARA LACHA: mountain pass through the Lahul canton of the Kulu sub division of Kangra District is a trade route from Darcha in Lahul to the Rupshu country in Ladakh, ROHTANG PASS: in the Kulu subdivision of Kangra District, is across the Himalayan range which divides the Kulu Valley from Lahul. This pass leads from Koksar in Lahul to Rolla in Kothi Manali of Kulu. The high

1. . P.

2.

in the N.W.(United) Provinces,

. . A . s, P . -

Narrative of a Journey to Mansarwar Geographical Journal-Vol.XV,P.

road to Leh and Yarkand from Kulu and Kangra goes over this pass, whi¹ is practicable for laden mules and ponies.

The effects of physical features of the Panjab have exercised a great influence on its history. Placed, as it is, by nature in a locality which gives it a crowning position, and serving as the gateway to India, every invader from the North has, by its possession, sought the road to fame. In pre-historic times, it was presumably, the Panjab that was first invaded by the Aryans from their camping beyond the snowy ranges of the stupendous Himalayas.² Thus on account of its geographical position, the Panjab has played the role of a gateway of India, because it was through these passes that the invaders entered India.³

The rivers of the Panjab also played an important part in the history of India. These rivers served as boundaries of Doabs, during the period of our study. During the rainy season, ^{also} ~~they~~ ^{these} served as Bulwark against the invaders who could not cross them. It was the main reason that Babar had to follow a more northerly route to Delhi, just below the Shivalik hills, where the rivers were narrow and the work of the bridge-building easier.⁴ It was also due to the geographical factor that almost all the decisive battles for the conquest of Delhi were fought in the plains of the Panjab. No effort was spared to check the invaders from the north-west by the rulers and the people of the Panjab but whenever they failed against their heavy odds they were always given tough fight by the rulers of Delhi in the battle fields of Sirhind Tarain, Kurukshetra and Panipat.

The fertility of the Panjab plains have always attracted the nomad invaders from the north. The Panjab being the gateway of India, had to bear the full brunt of these invaders and every invader gave the

2. Pan a, o. PP. -8,
3. -H Latif, Preface-1
4. H.R. Gupta, P. 7, 43-44, 80-81

people of the Panjab a rude shock which they absorbed alongwith the invaders in due course of time and made them a part and parcel of the social organisation. It is this fact that has given it the importance in Indian history which is out of all proportion to its productivity. It has been a crucible in which various racial strains, political systems and religious beliefs have mixed and melted and crystalised into new amalgams.

THE PRELUDE

True, Panjab had been the cradle of the rise and fall of a number of dynasties. Since the Pre-historic periods, battles and skirmishes had been bequeathed by one generation to the other, the life of the peasantry always unsafe and unsettled; the fortunes of business never too bright; laxity in morals resulting in unending court intrigues and lust for gold. It was the Panjab fermenting in social stagnation and moral depravity - a sure ground for the resurgence of the Bhakti cult and a full scale-war. Because, when men sink low in morals a saint arises to resurrect the soul and a warrior arises to cleanse the plethora by striking out quite a few.

In the first two decades of the sixteenth century, a great revolution had taken place in the history of India, which made the Panjab the potential arena of political struggle for the succeeding hundred years. The first and the most dramatic incident of this historic and bloody cockpit, began with the triangular conflict between Ibrahim Lodi, his uncle Alam Khan and Daulat Khan Lodi, the then governor of the Panjab as its leading characters. All of them were conspiring, each in his own way, to capture political power. Ibrahim Lodi having occupied the throne of Delhi after the death of his father Sikandar Lodi in 1517, began to torture and crush all the Afghan Chiefs and former supporters of the Lodi dynasty who, by strength of their high offices, had gained considerable influence and positions. This he

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did with a view to attain political supremacy. Alam Khan who had looked forward to the death of his brother Sikander Lodi, had high ambition to become the Emperor of India. But Ibrahim Lodi having sensed the sinister designs of his uncle, Alam Khan, was desperately after his life. At the same time he was keen to dislodge Daulat Khan, the governor of the Panjab, whose territory extended from Attock to Sirhind. Ibrahim wanted to entrust the governorship of this frontier province of India to one of his own men.

The Panjab has ever been the sword arm of India and has also been the main channel through which fine and brave soldiery recruited from beyond its frontiers, flowed into India. Without a complete domination over this region, no Emperor could ever feel secure on the throne. The court intrigues at Lahore and Multan had their repercussions on the general run of the people. They had no pole-star to fix their loyal ties unless some turned stoically indifferent to pleasure or pain. The full account of this drama played in the Land of the Five Rivers is given in detail in the pages to follow.

CHAPTER - I

BABAR - 1526-1530

In 1523, the Afghan nobles at Lahore decided upon sending Alam Khan Lodi and Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan to persuade Babar to help them in removing Ibrahim Lodi and placing his uncle Alam Khan, on the throne. The reasons given for such a course of action were firstly that Ibrahim was an incorrigible tyrant, of whom the Afghan nobility was thoroughly tired, and secondly, that Alam Khan would be friendly and highly deferential in his attitude towards Babar. With a view to absolving themselves of the charge of treachery, they gave a highly exaggerated account of his evil doings, foolishness, haughtiness and greediness, and painted him in the blackest colour. They promised that they would remain loyal to Babar and act under his command.

The line of action taken by the nobles of Lahore was intended to divert the attention of Babar from Dilawar Khan and his officers towards Ibrahim Lodi, and without making any positive commitments, show their anxiety to co-operate with him in deposing the Lodi Sultan. Such a specious proposal had latitude enough to lend itself to different interpretations. If Dilawar Khan was cunning enough to keep it vague, Babar was equally clever in not demanding clear elucidation or precision. Babar, however, was convinced that there was no solidarity among the Afghans and the opportunity was favourable for an adventurous drive. So far Babar had been thinking of only those districts of the Western Panjab which once formed a part of the kingdom of Kabul. Now his vision seems to have included the whole of the Panjab, if not the entire Lodi Empire. If the plan worked well he could revive the achievements of

Taimur in India, which would be an adequate compensation for his fail in Central Asia.

Whether Ibrahim Lodi knew or not the details of the negotiations between Daulat Khan and Alam Khan Lodi on the one hand and Babar on the other, he must have got an inkling of these negotiations. He, therefore, decided to send an army under Biban Khan and Mubarak Khan, to capture Lahore. Daulat Khan Lodi had evacuated the town and gone to Multan probably to wait there till the arrival of Babar. The army of occupation was not strong enough, nor its position was so consolidated as to offer a successful resistance. It was easily defeated by Babar, who captured, sacked and burnt Lahore. To take full advantage of the initial and easy success, Babar pushed on to Dipalpur and captured it in 1534¹. Here came Daulat Khan to pay tribute to him. Babar was pleased to appoint him as governor of Jullundur, Sultanpur and a few other districts². This was not what Daulat Khan had bargained for. He declined to accept the offer. The loss of prestige alongwith the governorship of Lahore³ came as a rude shock to him which opened his eyes.

Daulat Khan's hostility and non-fulfilment of his agreement with Babar, was dangerous for Babar's eastward advance. Therefore, he abandoned the idea of conquering India at this stage, especially when he got the intelligence that disorder was prevailing in his own country, on account of his absence. As such, instead of advancing upon Delhi he garrisoned the Panjab with his own loyal troops. Babar deemed fit to advance on Ismael Jilvani, the Afghan Chief of Thiara, situated close to the left bank of the Satlej between Ludhiana and Ferozepur who was intending to harass him. While the ^{former} latter was persuaded to attack the former, Babar was informed in time by Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan, that his father was playing treachery against him in persuading him to

1. - ol.I ,Beveri ge,P.
2. - - -Vol.II,Briggs,P.38
3. - - -Vol.II,King,P.151

attack the Afghan Chief of Thiara. Babar abandoned the idea. He threw¹ Daulat Khan and his son Ghazi Khan into prison, but they were later on released before he left for Kabul. Babar took all possible measures for the safety of the Panjab before he returned to Kabul. Babar honoured Dilawar Khan for the service he had rendered to him against his own father. He bestowed upon Dilawar Khan the district of Sultanpur, which Daulat Khan had abandoned, being dissatisfied with Babar's reward.² Dilawar Khan was also honoured with the high title of Khan-i-Khanan.³

Babar was almost the master of the Panjab up to Sirhind, excluding the province of Multan. As he had to go back to Kabul, he entrusted his newly-acquired territories to some of his most trusted officers. Mir Abdul Aziz was appointed governor of Dipalpur and Muhammad Ali Tajak was appointed governor of Kalanaur, under the supervision of Alam Khan Lodi. Multan still belonged to the Biloch⁴ tribe of Langah.

Babar had hardly crossed the Indus on his return, when Daulat Khan and his son Ghazi Khan revolted. They imprisoned Dilawar Khan and kept him under close custody and increased their forces rapidly and defeated Alam Khan Lodi, the governor of Dipalpur, recently appointed by Babar. Alam Khan Lodi escaped and fled to Kabul. Daulat Khan attack^{ed} Sialkot with five thousand Afghan but suffered a crushing defeat.⁵

Taking advantage of such affairs in the Panjab, Ibrahim sent an army against Daulat Khan to bring him to his knees, but so successful were the intrigues of Daulat Khan in the imperial camp, that he contrived to gain over the General of Ibrahim's army with the result that this⁶ army was completely broken up at Bajwara (Hoshiarpur) and the Sultan

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1. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P. 152
 2. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P. 152
 3. Tawarikh-i-Firishtha-Vol.II, Briggs, PP. 37-38
 4. Baburnama-Vol.I, Beveridge, P. 442
 5. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P. 152
 6. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P. 153
 7. Tarikh-i-Firishtha-Vol.II, Briggs, P. 40
 8. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P. 153
 9. Tarikh-i-Firishtha-Vol.II, Briggs, P. 41

to ^{eat} eat an humble pie.

When the news of these developments reached Babar he decided finally to embark on an expedition to India. Freed from the Uzbek menace Babar set out towards the Panjab in November, 1525 and was joined on the way by Humayun with his troops from Badakhshan. Babar crossed the Indus on December 16, 1525¹ and began to advance to Sialkot by the hill route. He marched in five stages from the Indus, the sixth² brought him close by the hill of Jud, below the hill of Balnath Jogi,³ on the banks of river (Harur) at the station of Bakial. After crossing the Jehlam he was joined by some officers from his Lahore army. He reached the bank of the Chenab and rode on to Bahlolpur.⁴ Next morning he halted at Pasrur⁵ where Muhammad Ali Jang Jang and Khawaja Hussain⁶ waited on him.

Babar left Shah Mir Hassan and some officers to guard Lahore and he himself moved ahead with all possible speed with his troops and reached Kalanaur, 17 miles west of Gurdaspur. He was anxious to overtake Daulat Khan Lodi and Ghazi Khan who were now seized with panic and had shut themselves in the fort of Mallot near Haraina, in Hoshiarpur District. He ordered Muhammad Ahmedi and Kutlaq Qadam to pursue them and they were strictly instructed to intercept every move into and out⁷ of the fort of Mallot so that the garrison might not be able to escape.⁸

Babar crossed the river Beas opposite to Kahnuwan, and encamped

2. ^{o . . . ver ge, .}
-Vol.I, Beveridge, P.379
-Vol.II, King, P.163
3. ra na is a monastery of the Jogis, situated on an isolated peak of the Tilla Dariga.
4. Bahlolpur stood on a ravine on the banks of the Chenab.
5. Pasrur is the Tehsil headquarters of the same name, about 20 miles south of Sialkot.
6. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P.163
The Baburnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.453
7. The fort of Mallot, founded in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi was Daulat Khan's stronghold, situated in the foot of the Shivalik hills, about five miles from Hariana to the East, in Hoshiarpur District.
8. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P.169

at the mouth of the valley of the Shivalik Hills in which lies the fort of Mallet. The fort was surrendered after a tough fight which was searched by Babar personally. He examined Ghazi Khan's library, and found in it a number of valuable books. Some of these were given to Humayun and some were sent to Kamran at Kabul.¹ Daulat Khan, Ali Khan, Ismail Khan and some other leading men were handed over as prisoners to Kita Beg,² who set out with the prisoners for the fort of Mallet, situated in the District of Jhelum, but Daulat Khan died on the way at Sultanpur. Babar gave the fort to Muhammad Ali Jang Jang with 300 to 250 troops, who put his elder brother, Arghun, in charge of the place while he himself departed with a body of main troops.³

Babar continued his advance to Delhi via Dun and reached Rupar.⁴ It was here that Babar had to descend from the hilly route. His army moved through Kurali to Sirhind,⁵ and halted at Banur,⁶ where he was informed that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was advancing towards Panipat and he also learnt here that Hamid Khan, the Shiqdar of Hissar-i-Firoza, had also advanced against Babar at the command of the Sultan. Babar sent Kita Beg towards Ibrahim's camp to procure intelligence and despatched Atka against the army of Hissar-i-Firoza to get notice of movements of Hamid Khan.

From Banur, Babar reached Ambala and despatched Humayun with all the forces under him to reinforce Atka. Hamid Khan was defeated. Humayun's troops entered Hissar-i-Firoza and sacked it. The town was bestowed upon Humayun as a reward for the brilliant success he had achieved in dispersing one section of the army of the enemy.⁷

1. The Baburnama-Vol. II, Briggs, P. 42
2. A village in the district of Jhelum District, 16 miles north-west of Pind Dadan Khan.
3. The Baburnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, PP. 459-461
Tarikh-i-Firishita-Vol. II, Briggs, P. 42
Memoirs of Babur-Vol. I, King, P. 169
4. Memoirs of Babur-Vol. II, King, PP. 173-174
5. 12 miles south-east of Rupar
6. 9 miles in the east of Rajpura in Patiala District. Its ancient name was Pushap-wati.
7. Memoirs of Babur-Vol. II, King, PP. 173-179
Tarikh-i-Firishita-Vol. II, Briggs, P. 43

BATTLE OF PANIPAT - 1526:- On three occasions the fate of Hindustan has been decided on the historic plain of Panipat. Owing to its strategic location, on the highroads from Sirhind and Ferozepur to Delhi, Panipat has been the scene of some of the most historic battles in Indian History. In fact, this entire tract embracing Panipat, Kurukshetra and Taraori (Train), has been the cockpit of Indian history. For with a high mountain range on one hand, and the vast stretches of the desert on the other, neither too far away, it forms, as it were a bottleneck through which access to the vast riches of the Gangetic Plain, the culminating point of every invader's ambition, lies. The area itself is so close to Delhi that whenever, and for so long as, the empire which centred in that city existed as more than a mere phantom the political fortunes of one were almost inseparable from the other. Astride the successful invader's highway to the throne of Hindustan at Delhi, Panipat thus inevitably formed an important link in the chain of the marching hordes' communications with their homeland.¹ From the strategic background of Afghanistan the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, the Khabiber, Kurran, Tochi and Gomal passes on the Panjab Plains, for the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general. Checked on the south by the deserts of Rajputana, invading armies were forced to enter the Ganga and the Jamuna Valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north-eastern extremity of desert and the foot of the Himalayas.²

Babar's advance towards Delhi was welcomed by the discontented elements in the country. Hearing the news of Babar's approach, Ibrahim sent two advance parties to deal with him but both of these were defeated and Babar advanced unopposed as far as Sarsawah.³ Babar reached Pani

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India-Provincial Series, Vol. I, PP. 316-17

Karnal District Gazetteer, PP. 25-28

2. The Encyclopaedia of Islam-Vol. III, (1936), P. 1025

3. Memoirs of Babur-Vol. II, King, P. 180 (Sirsawah is a small town in the District of Saharanpur)

4. Memoirs of Babur-Vol. II, King, P. 181

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with his army by two marches on April 12, 1526. Sultan Ibrahim had also² reached Panipat with his one lakh army and one thousand elephants. But considering the fact that there used to be in those days a number of camp followers and servants for every incumbent, the effective fighting strength of Ibrahim's army could not have been more than forty thousand. This army of all descriptions and which had been hastily raised on the spur of the moment was divided into four traditional divisions - the advance guard, the centre the right and the left wings. The armies confronted each other. During the night of 20th April, Babar sent out four to five thousand men to make a night attack which failed. He advanced next morning. Ibrahim ordered his army to march forward at a quick pace, but it had to stop suddenly when it came near Babar's strong defences. "They could not halt, and they were unable to advance with the same speed as before. I sent orders to the troops stationed as flankers on the extremes of the right and left divisions, to wheel round the enemy's flank with all possible speed, and instantly to attack them in the rear and attack them with showers of arrows and press them vigorously."³ This caused some confusion among Ibrahim's troops. Taking advantage of it, Babar immediately ordered his Taulgha-⁴ mas to wheel round and attack the enemy in the rear. Ibrahim now ordered an attack on Babar's left wing and found himself in difficulty. Babar quickly reinforced the centre which succeeded in repelling the Afghan's right wing. Now Babar ordered his gunners to open fire. Thus, the Afghans who were surrounded and overwhelmed, found themselves exposed to artillery fire in front and arrows on either flank. The battle⁵ lasted from morning till noon. The superior strategy and generalship of

1. - ol.I, King, P.
 2. - Vol.II, Briggs, PP.44-45
 3. - Beveridge, P.463
 4. - Vol.II, King, P.186
 5. - Vol.II, Briggs, PP.44-45
- the troops st^d in ambush to turn the enemy, or the action of turning the flank of the enemy. It was a manoeuvre executed by Babar (Memoirs of Babur-Vol.I, King, P.194)
5. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P.187

Babar put the Afghans on the run. Ibrahim was killed fighting heroical-¹ly and fifteen to sixteen thousand of his men lay dead on the field. His dead body was discovered amidst a heap of corpses. His head was brought before Babar alongwith a large number of prisoners and spoils of all kinds.

The success of Babar was due to astute generalship and the strategic deployment of the cavalry and the artillery. The battle of Panipat brought Babar to the end of the final stage of his Indian conquest. It sealed the fate of the Lodi dynasty as effectively as his ancestor Taimur had done that of the Tughlaqs, and told seriously on the morale and already disintegrating organization of the Afghans. The soldiers and the peasantry alike ran away in fear of the conqueror; gates were closed of every fortified town, and people busied themselves in organizing defences everywhere. Guru Nanak, being the contemporary of Babar gives the true picture of that age "the kings are butchers,² cruelty their knife; sense of duty has taken wings and vanished."

On the very day of the battle, Babar pushed forward two detachments, one to Delhi and the other to Agra, to prevent lawlessness and plunder and to take possession of the public treasuries in those cities. He himself followed and reached Delhi on the third day after the battle.³ He moved swiftly to Agra after sealing up all the treasuries at Delhi.

MIR YUNIS ALI - 1527-1590:- After the first battle of Panipat, Babar could not pay his full attention to the affairs of the Panjab, as anarchy was prevalent every where beyond Delhi and Agra. The frontier provinces of Kabul and Qandhar were already given to Mirza Kamran. Babar appointed Mir Yunis Ali as the governor of the Panjab in 1537, who had accompanied him in all his Indian campaigns. Mir Yunis Ali was devoted to Babar and

1. Memoirs of Babur-Vol.II, King, P.187

2. Var Mahi Mahala.I, Shalok.17(1)

The Sikh Religion, Vol.I, Macauliffe, P.170

3. History of India-Vol.I, Erskine, P.437

Baburnama-Vol.I, Beveridge, PP.273,398

Baburnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, PP.472,473,565,569,543-46

was sincere and one of the most trusted, daring and experienced generals who had fought with great intrepidity in the battle of Panipat¹. Even before this, when the rebellious Afghans, under the command of Hamid Khan of Hissar-i-Feroza fought with Humayun, Mir Yunis Ali was one of those who fought bravely and had defeated the Afghans. Being a great military general and capable administrator he succeeded in keeping the Panjab under perfect control when Babar was heavily engaged in the conquest of the unsubdued provinces of northern India. He was thus destined to play a dominant role during that formative period of the Mughal suzerainty.²

At the representation of Qazi of Samana, Mir Yunis Ali was informed of the depredations wrought by Mohan Mandahar, a Hindu chief near Kaithal. He instantly issued instructions to Ali Quli Khan Hamadani to take three thousand horse and crush the evil doers. Due to the intensity of the cold, the royal archers were unable to pull their bows and thus could not withstand the onslaught of the inhabitants of the village of Mohan Mandahar, who had been warming themselves beside fire. He deputed Tarsu Bahadur and Narang Beg to reinforce Ali Quli Khan and to attack the Mandahars who were relaxing on their oars and were making merry. The Mandahars suffered a crushing defeat. A tower was erected of the skulls, of those who were killed in the encounter. Upto this day the village which is in Kaithal tehsil of Karnal District remains deserted. The punishment meted out to the inhabitants of the village terrorised the people of that area.

1. Memoirs of Babur-Vol. II, King, P. 185

2. Humayun Badshah-S.K. Banerji, PP. 53-56

History of India-Vol. II, Erskine, PP. 7-9

CHAPTER - II

HUMAYUN AND THE SURS - 1530-1556

Babar did not live long to consolidate what he had conquered and Humayun was not so strong and sagacious as to be able to accomplish the task left by his father. The political condition of India became more chaotic after Babar's death as Mirza Kamran who was already in possession of Kabul and Qandhar, wanted to possess Panjab or even beyond that. Humayun also did not attach any importance to this frontier province and instead of reinforcing Mir Yunis Ali, the governor of Lahore, he diverted his attention towards the expedition of Kalinjar and the Panjab was left without sufficient military forces.

MIRZA KAMRAN - 1530-1540:- When Humayun was busy in quelling the disorder in the East, the Mirza crossed the Indus leaving the charge of Afghanistan to his younger brother Askari. After capturing a greater part of the West Panjab, Kamran drew nearer to Lahore. Here he found Mir Yunis Ali, who would not submit to Kamran without giving him a tough fight. Instead of taking possession of Lahore by regular military operations, Kamran resorted to diplomacy. One night he publicly abused Qarcha Beg, one of his trusted Amirs and made him to fly to Mir Yunis Ali with all his followers to seek refuge in Lahore, with a view to planting him in enemy camp and the trick worked. Qarcha Beg was cordially received by Mir Yunis Ali. But one night Qarcha Beg seized the opportunity to take him perfidiously into his custody. Hearing of this, Mirza Kamran who was anxiously watching the situation, hastened

1. Tarikh-i-Firishtha-Vol.II, Briggs, P. 39
Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, PP. 286, 296, 377
2. Tarikh-i-Firishtha-Vol.II, Briggs, PP. 71-72

to Lahore with a strong force and occupied it without any resistance. Mirza Kamran released Mir Yunis Ali from custody and offered him the governorship under him, but the latter declined the offer and instead wanted to join Humayun in Delhi. Kamran took possession of all the neighbouring districts of Lahore and very soon, the whole of the Panjab¹ extending upto the Satlej was brought under his sway.

After this episode, Mirza Kamran secretly humoured Humayun to confirm him in this province. Humayun not only confirmed him in the governorship, but also generously gave him Hissar-i-Feroza and the² province of Multan.

The cession of the Panjab in general, and of Hissar-i-Feroza in particular, is regarded as a blunder of the first magnitude on the part of Humayun. Mirza Kamran not only deprived him of a most productive province but also created a barrier between him and the Mughal military base in the north west, so rich in military resources. Kamran held command of the important military road running from Delhi to Qandhar which made it possible for him to cut down the main source of Humayun's military power, the strength and efficiency of which was absolutely necessary for the safety of the infant Mughal dominion in India at that time.

A majority of the scholars has nothing but praise for the generosity and clemency of Humayun in allowing Kamran to continue to occupy the Panjab and add Multan and Hissar-i-Feroza. According to the ancient Turko-Mughal customs, the Indian Mughal Empire had to be divided among the sons of Babar. It does not, therefore, look so much an act of generosity or of obedience to the last words of his father, but one of imperative necessity and absolute expediency. There was no

1. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, PP. 290-291

Humayun Badshah-S.K. Banerji, PP. 53-56

2. The Baburnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P. 125

Humayun Badshah-S.K. Banerji, P. 54

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.I, Ranking, P. 582

other way out for Humayun. It was in his own interest to win the good will of his brothers, and with their help to make a united effort to save the empire. It would perhaps have been wiser for Humayun to have settled the share of his brothers, much earlier, particularly of Kamr¹. After coming to the throne, he remained undecided in his mind for quite some time. There was no other course open to him. He made the best of a bad bargain and tried to earn the gratitude of his brothers.

Thereafter, the Panjab remained under the undisturbed possession of Mirza Kamran, but his authority was challenged in 1536 by Muhammad Zaman Mirza², the rebel Mughal governor of Gujrat, while the former was away from the Panjab to quell the rebellion of Sam Mirza of Iran.³ T advantage of the absence of Mirza Kamran, Zaman Mirza marched upon Lahore to occupy it. On reaching Lahore, he did not immediately resort to fighting, instead, he opened negotiations with the Faujdar of Lahore for its surrender, but failing to secure his object, he laid siege to the city. Mirza Kamran hurriedly returned to Lahore. On hearing the news of Mirza Kamran's return, Muhammad Zaman Mirza abandoned the siege and fled to Delhi.⁴ After this, the Panjab remained undisturbed under Mirza Kamran until 1540, when he was dislodged by Sher Shah. Kamran's greatest contribution was that he maintained the integrity of the Panjab, for a decade. He defeated the Persians twice and did not allow Shah Tahmasp to occupy Qandhar.⁵

HUMAYUN'S FLIGHT:- After his retreat from Kannauj, Humayun arrived at Delhi on the 25th of May 1540, where he could not dare to prolong his stay because he was being hotly pursued by Sher Shah. Only ten days

1. Tarikh-i-Firishat-Vol. II, Briggs, P. 72

2. Mohd. Zaman Mirza was the eldest son-in-law of Babar (Humayun Badshah-S.K. Banerji, P. 23)

3. Sam Mirza was the brother of Shah Tahmasp, the able successor of Shah Ismail of Iran.

4. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 288

5. Humayun Badshah-S.K. Banerji, PP. 53-58, 237-38

History of India-Vol. II, Erskine, PP. 3-9, 101-102

6. Tarikh-i-Firishat-Vol. II, Briggs, P. 88

after the decisive battle of Kanauj, he left Delhi and retreated to the Panjab. With his brothers, Humayun discussed ways and means to deal with the Afghan menace after reaching Lahore. He wanted them to pool all the available resources and make a determined effort to recover the lost Empire.¹ Kamran was anxious to save the Panjab from going out of his hands. Since the military resources of the Mughals at this time were limited, Humayun preferred negotiations with Sher Shah. The difference between Humayun and Kamran was on one point only. Should the Emperor conduct negotiations on behalf of all, in the capacity of the sovereign, or should Kamran do it as the de facto master of the Panjab ?

Accordingly, Humayun sent an envoy to Sher Shah with a proposal to treat Sirhind as a boundary between the Afghan and the Mughal kingdoms. Humayun got three months respite at Lahore; but he could not reunite the Mughals even in the face of such a great calamity.²

Sher Shah was shrewd enough to realize that the Mughals were in no position to fight, and that a settlement of that nature would not last long, since there was no good natural boundary in the Panjab to separate the two kingdoms. He also concluded that the Mughal princes were either disunited or were trying to outwit him. He, therefore, offered a straight, and the only feasible proposal, that he would sheathe his sword should the Mughals agree to recognize the Indus as a boundary line between the two kingdoms. Meanwhile Sher Shah had advanced to the banks of ^{The} Beas near Sultanpur with his forces.³ Muzaffar Beg, one of the generals of Humayun who had been left behind in his retreat, arrived at Lahore and gave information to Humayun that Sher Shah had forced his way over and secured a position on the right

1. - , Br gs, P.
2. -Vol.II, Erskine, PP. 200-201
-Vol.II, S.K. Banerji, PP. 4-5
-Vo .II, Beveridge, P. 358
3. s from Kapurthala on Ferozepur railway line.

bank of the Beas, in spite of all the opposition which he was able to offer. He further said that Sher Shah was bringing the rest of his troops across and might soon be expected to arrive in sight of Lahore.¹

On hearing this news,² Humayun and his brothers instantly abandoned Lahore in October, 1540, crossed the Ravi, and hastened towards the Chenab. Kamran conveyed his followers and his property across in³ boats.

SHER SHAH SUR - 1540-1545:- Sher Shah chased the flying brothers and on reaching the Chenab, he sent one party to pursue Humayun who had taken the Multan road and another to follow Kamran, whilst he himself proceeded to Ehera. Sher Shah halted at the Chenab for sometime in order to provide reinforcements for troops which he had sent out to take possession of the different parts of the Panjab.⁴⁵

Just after driving out the Mughals from the Panjab, Sher Shah stayed at Khushab for sometime to reorganize the administration of the conquered territories in the Panjab. He took strict measures to make this province administratively strong. He wrought many reforms for the betterment of its people. The land was measured with a view to accurate assessment. Justice of a rough⁶ and ready kind was administered under his strict orders and the responsibility of village communities for crimes committed within their borders was enforced by tremendous penalties. No man could expect favour by reason of his rank or position and no injury to cultivation was tolerated. He laid out roads, planted trees and provided wells and 'sarais' for use by travellers.

THE QAKHARS:- The Qakhars inhabited the mountainous tract between the upper courses of the rivers Indus and Jhelum - bounded on the west by

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1. History of India-Vol. II, Erskine, PP. 200-201
 2. Akbarnama-Vol. I, Beveridge, P. 359
 3. Humayunnama-Beveridge, P. 144
 4. History of India-Vol. II, Erskine, P. 424
 5. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi-Vol. IV, Elliot and Dowson, P. 388
 6. Panjab Castes by Ibbetson (1916), PP. 41-57
- India of Aurangzeb-Jadunath Sarkar, P. 77
 Tarikh-i-Firista-Vol. I, Briggs, P. 183

the Indus from Kalabagh to Attock, on the north by the Hazara District and the Shivalik mountains, on the east by the Jhelum river down to the town of Khushab, comprising the present Districts of Rawalpindi and the Jhelum. This tract was never fully conquered by any former Emperor of northern India. But the mastery over no other region has proved so essential to the safety of India as over this. It possesses great strategic value; an invader from the northwest could appear suddenly in the very heart of the Panjab by marching stealthily through this region from Attock to Rohtas. Indeed beginning with Alexander the Great, many mighty conquerors entered the Panjab through this route and swept away dynasty after dynasty from the throne of Delhi.¹

At this time Mirza Kamran whom Sher Shah had deprived of the Panjab, was at Kabul with his strength enhanced by the adhesion of Humayun, and Haider Mirza was engaged in the conquest of Kashmir. They might at any time join hands and attempt at recovering the Panjab and ultimately the throne of Delhi. For such a combination this tract of the country occupied by the warlike independent tribe was the most advantageous for the Mughals. Kamran could advance through the Attock² and Mirza Haider could descend from the mountains of Kashmir through the Baramula pass, and marching through Rawalpindi, form a junction with Mirza Kamran. Thus the conquest of this region became an urgent military necessity to Sher Shah. Whilst encamped at Khushab and Bhera,³ Sher Shah invited Sultan Sarang and Sultan Adam, the chiefs of the Gakhar tribes, to submit to his authority. The Gakhar chiefs who had long been on friendly terms with Babar and his family, declined the invitation. In response, they sent a lion cub and a bow with an arrow, which meant that they were the lions and the masters of arms. Sher Shah was very much annoyed on receiving this reply and said that he

1. - son, P. .
 2. Hassan A (Panja Sahib) route. The Land of the Five Rivers
 3. History of India-Vol. II, Erskine, P. 425. Fryskis, PP. 41, 96, 248

would give them such a blow with a dagger which would forever remain¹ their hearts.

Sher Shah marched upon the Gakhars, after Sarang Khan refused submit. On this occasion, he inflicted terrible punishment on Sarang Khan. He not only seized Sarang Khan's daughter, whom he bestowed on his general Khawas Khan, but also subdued the whole country of the Gakhars, and plundered the hill of Balnath, which was the residence of the Gakhar chief. He captured Sarang Khan and ordered him to be flayed² alive, and his skin to be filled with straw.³

Sher Shah thought that to keep the Gakhars in proper check it was imperative to have a stronghold to guard this northern frontier. This consideration determined Sher Shah to erect on the borders of the country a fortress, on the road between Kabul and Delhi which might at once be a formidable barrier against invasions from the north and which could also prevent the penetration of the Mughals into the Gakhar country and thence towards India.

A spot was selected on the right bank of the river Jhelum where the Kuhan torrent bursts through the low foot hills eastwards of the Tilla Range, for the construction of fort of Rohtas, generally known as Rohtas Khurd. The Gakhars had unanimously resolved not to allow any one to work for wages and they took an oath to extirpate every person who flouted their wishes. Todar Mal, a Khatri from Lahore was entrusted⁴ with this job who was a trusted man of Sher Shah. Inspired by their natural love of independence and confident of the power of their sword, the Gakhars offered all possible obstacles but the fort of Rohtas was completed.

HALEBAT KHAN - 1540-45:- Sher Shah would have completed the subjugation of the Gakhar country as far as the Indus and thus secured a scientific

- . o. n - o . s e, P .
2. - - - Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, PP. 390, 493
 3. - - - Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, PP. 390-93
 4. - - - Nawab Ullah Harvi, (Text), P. 196

and a natural frontier of his Empire, but the arrival of report of the rebellious designs of his governor of Bengal, drew him away from this work. Haibat Khan Niasi was appointed the commander of the Afghan forces at Rohtas, in 1540. Sher Shah had found in him the only fit person who could keep the turbulent Gakhars in check. In 1543, when Sher Shah was pre-occupied with the conquest of Ranthambor, Fatch Khan the Bilooh chief took possession of Multan. Though after occupying Multan he had acknowledged Sher Shah as his over-lord, yet he had evil designs against the Afghan rule. Haibat Khan marched with his army and defeated the Bilooh chief and was soon in possession of Multan. At this enterprise Sher Shah honoured Haibat Khan with the title of Azim Humayun¹ and appointed him governor of Multan.

There was yet another revolt by Fatch Khan Jat the robber chief² of Kabulah, who revolted against the Afghan rule at Pakpattan. Haibat Khan marched against him from Lahore; but the rebel Jat fled to a mud fort³ between Kahrur and Fatehpur. He was reinforced by the other robber chiefs, Hinder Khan Bilooh and Bakhshu Khan Langah. Haibat Khan gave them a crushing defeat and relieved the country from devastation, done by the Biloches and the Jats. One stronghold was established at Shergarh after the name of Sher Shah where a strong force was kept to deal with insouciant tribes of the Biloches, Jats and the Langahs.⁴

ISLAM SHAH - 1545-1553:- On Sher Shah's death, his second son Jalal Khan, was proclaimed king under the title of Sultan Islam Shah. At his accession he resolved to crush all the Amirs, of his father. Kutab Khan, the commander of the Kumaon hills who had himself implicated in the attempt to raise Islam Shah's brother to the throne, was very much afraid of Islam Shah. He fled and retired to the Panjab to seek refuge with Khawas Khan and Haibat Khan Niyasi. Saeed Khan,

1. Tabakat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De., P.169

2. 28 miles from Pakpattan and 28 miles from Montgomery.

3. 51 miles from Multan and 47 miles from Tibba, in Multan District.

4. Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi-Elliot and Dowson, Vol.IV, PP.398-399

brother of Haibat Khan was one of the principal intriguers. He made good his escape and joined his brother at Lahore and persuaded him to lead a revolt against Islam Shah. At this time the recall to the court of Azam Humayun, by the king, was naturally interpreted to mean his ¹destruction. But Azam Humayun refused to come. He had under his command thirty or forty thousand horses and his strength was further augmented by Khawas Khan who came with his men and joined him. He had the Khutba read in his name and unfurled the standard of rebellion. It appeared that the history of Ibrahim Lodi was going to repeat itself.

THE BATTLE OF AMBALA - 1545:- The attitude of the rebels in the Panjab was now so menacing that Islam Shah marched against them. Azam Humayun also marched towards the capital "with more than double the King's ²forces." Islam Shah was not to be cowed down even by such a powerful combination and he too mobilized his army. Both armies pitched their camps at Ambala. On the eve of the battle, Azam Humayun and Khawas Khan sat in a conference to discuss the future of the empire should they come out victorious from the inevitable war. Khawas Khan, who was a legitimist, proposed to raise Adil Khan to the throne. He was taken back when the Niyazis, unanimously ridiculed his suggestion and held that "No one obtains ³kingdom by inheritance; it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword." Khawas Khan was attached to Adil and so without speaking a word made up his mind to desert the Niyazis.

Islam Shah probably got a hint of the fatal division among the rebels and came out to fight them early next morning. Just at the commencement of the battle Khawas Khan withdrew from the field to the great chagrin of the Niyazis, but they fought most stubbornly. At last victory was declared in favour of Islam Shah and the Niyazis were routed.

1. Tarikh-i-Firishhta-Vol.II, Briggs, PP.131-33

2. Tarikh-i-Firishhta-Vol.II, Briggs, P.133

Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De., PP.183-184

3. Tarikh-i-Firishhta-Vol.II, Briggs, P.133

Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De., P.184

سے ملک بھرٹ گئیں۔ تانہ زندہ تیغ دودستی ہے۔

Of those who escaped, many were drowned in the swollen stream, to the west of Ambala and many were slaughtered. Islam Shah pursued them up to Rohtas. Khawaja Vais Sharwani was sent further in pursuit of the fugitives.¹

STRUGGLE WITH THE NIAZI AFGHANS¹- After the battle of Ambala, Khawaja Vais Sharwani was appointed the governor of the Panjab in 1545 by Islam Shah. He could not maintain his hold longer, firstly because Islam Shah remained busy in quelling disorder in Malwa and secondly, Haibat Khan Niyazi had still a great influence within the Panjab and had a large following beyond the river Jhelum. Azam Humayun (Haibat Khan) and other Niyazi leaders succeeded in driving Khawaja Vais Sharwani back to Lahore from Rohtas. Islam Shah lost no time in sending fresh reinforcements to Khawaja, who defeated the Niyazis in the neighbourhood of Dinkot² and compelled them to seek the protection of the Gakhars. This combination was serious enough particularly because Humayun's position in Afghanistan had grown strong.

Islam Shah moved with a strong army to fight them. For two years (1549-1550), Islam Shah carried fire and sword into the Gakhar country but failed to corner the indomitable Gakhars. The Niyazis, however, felt it impossible to live indefinitely upon the hospitality of the Gakhars who had become thoroughly tired, hence they tried to enter Kashmir but they were opposed by Mirza Haider Dughlat. A fierce battle was fought at the village of Sambla in which Bibi Rabia, the wife of Azam Humayun, distinguished herself by a heroic fight. The Niyazis were, however, outnumbered, overwhelmed and defeated. Azam Humayun, his wife and brother were killed and their heads were sent to Islam

- O. . . B. . . , PP. 181-
 - Vol. II, Briggs, P. 134
 - Vol. II, Erskine, PP. 4560-67
 3.A 1 e au r of Tarikh-i-Daudi, calls it Mankot and says that Dinkot was the place towards which the Niyazis had fled.

Shah. The most repugnant and disgusting feature in the Niyazi war was the beastly treatment given to Niyazi women. Some were kept exposed for months in a state of nudity. Others were made over to harlots.

To keep the Gakhars and the hill Rajas in check as also to erect a second line of defence, Islam Shah ordered the construction of a set of five forts, a chain of fortresses for defence on the eastern bank of the Chenab, ninety miles north-east of Sialkot, which was named Mankot.

It was during his present, as well as his former residence at Lahore that Islam Shah, following up, in some measure, his father's ideas, had seriously meditated the destruction of Lahore because it was the stronghold of the Mughals and had always been reinforced by the Gakhars. It was a large and flourishing city and the centre of a rich trade and was amply furnished with very useful and costly production of the times. It had a numerous and warlike population and manufactured large quantities of every warlike material. If Lahore was recovered and occupied by the exiled Emperor Humayun, his family or by any invader from the north, it would become a base for arming their troops and for invading India. So he desired to shift the capital of the Panjab to Mankot, which was more remote from the country of the Gakhars and ^{lay} ~~lies~~ compensatingly freer from the danger of an attack along the left bank of the Indus, while from its position in the

- - - - - o .II, B.De., PP.
 - - - - P. 220
 - - - - P. 168
 - - - - o .II, Briggs, P. 135
 - 2. - - - - o .I, Blochman, PP. 394-395
 - 3. The fortress of Mankot was composed of four strong forts which Islam Khan Sur (Islam Shah) had constructed on the adjoining hills at the time when he had marched out to extirpate the Gakhars and had returned frustrated. On each hill he built a fort composed of stone and mortar, and to the eye of a spectator the whole fortification looked like one fort. The site was very strong and difficult of access by troops and if access were attained it was very difficult to lay hands on the garrison. It had an abundant supply of good water and as much as provisions as were wanted." (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.II, H.W. Lowe, P. 11)
- Mansir-ul-Umera-Vol.I, PP. 67-68, gives a picturesque description of the fort and full explanation as to why Islam Shah wanted to carry out the plan referred to.

Sialkot range, it was less liable to be invaded and more capable of defence. But his plan was never carried into effect.

SIKANDER SUR - 1553-1556:- Islam Shah died in 1553 and disorder soon followed. Mubarik Khan, his maternal uncle had seized the throne and assumed the title of Muhammad Adil Shah. He was a grossly ignorant and thoroughly an incompetent man. He placed his confidence particularly in Hemu, who had started his life as a hawker of salt in the streets of Rewari and had subsequently been employed in a confidential capacity by Islam Shah. The disappearance of the strong personality of Sher Shah and the weakness of his successors, led to the reappearance of jealousies and refractoriness among the Afghan nobles, which plunged the whole kingdom into a welter of anarchy and thus paved the way for the Mughal restoration. Sikandar had captured Delhi and Agra and Muhammad Khan Sur was on the point of crossing his border and attacking Adil. This opportunity for Humayun was quite favourable as the Afghan Empire was fast crumbling to pieces in the hands of Adil Shah. Humayun had now no brother to quarrel with, his army was strong and well equipped, and his nobles were all obedient.

RECONQUEST OF INDIA BY HUMAYUN - 1555:- Under these circumstances Humayun moved to the banks of the Indus on December 31, 1554. There he was joined by Bairam Khan, a trusted general, and the rest of the army from Kabul. He received information that Tatar Khan Kashi, the Afghan governor of the fort of Rohtas had abandoned the fort and retired with his whole force towards Delhi. The fort which Sher Shah had built as a bulwark against the Mughals was captured without striking a blow. Tatar Khan Kashi seems to have been frightened by a probable combination of the Gakhars and the Mughals. Also the confusion in the Afghan camp had precluded the possibility of substantial reinforcements. A

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- O . , Ers e, P.
- Vol. II, B. De., P. 193

- T. W. Beale, P. 260

detachment was sent by Humayun to take possession of the fort and the main army marched on without meeting any serious opposition. The Gakhars¹ remained almost neutral.

Humayun reached Lahore on February 24, 1555. Making Lahore his headquarters, he sent a detachment under Shah Abul Maali towards Dipalpur, which was then held by Shahbaz Khan and Nasir Khan Afghans. A tough battle was fought and the Afghan confederacy was defeated. The property,² families and retainers were seized and plundered by the Mughals.

On arriving at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur District, from Lahore,³ Humayun despatched a strong body of troops under Bairam Khan and Tardi Beg to attack Nasib Khan, the Afghan general who lay encamped at Panj-⁴ Bhain near Haryana. Bairam Khan pushed on to Haryana in Hoshiarpur⁵ District which after a slight skirmish, was surrendered by Nasib Khan. Much valuable plunder, as well as the families of the Afghans, fell into his hands. The prisoners were all set at liberty and the women and children were collected and sent under the protection of an escort to Nasib Khan in consequence of a vow made by Humayun that if Providence restored to him the sovereignty of India, he would allow no man to be made captive. Several elephants and some of the more valuable properties were despatched⁶ to Humayun.

Bairam Khan advanced to Jullundur from Haryana, via Sham⁷ Chaurasi, where the Afghans had taken up position. No sooner did he come near them than they retreated, for such was the terror which the

1. -Vol.II, Beveridge, P. 20
- - -Vol.II, Briggs, PP.173-174
- - -Vol.II, B.De., P.131
2. -Vol. I, Beveridge, P.620
3. -Vol.II, Beveridge, P.623
4. es from Haryana, to the east, towards the fort of Mallot
5. 10, miles to the north, from Hoshiarpur on Dasuya Road. Dr. Ishwari Prasad locates this place as Haryana Prant comprising Hissar, Rohtak, Patiala and Jind Districts, which is incorrect (The Life and Times of Humayun-P.343)
6. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.624
History of India-Vol.II, Erskine, P.344
7. 8, miles from the writer's village, Domeli, little off the road which runs between Jullundur and Hoshiarpur.

Afghans at this time entertained of the Mughals that though they were thousands in number, when they saw the approach of but half a score of big turbans, though they might perhaps belong only to Lahore, they¹ instantly turned and took to flight, without looking behind them. In the present instance, the Afghans not only escaped with their lives but carried off their bag and baggage also. After this, the Mughal forces advanced towards Delhi.

At Machhiwara the Mughal army crossed the Satluj to meet the Afghan general Tatar Khan Kashi, who had been sent by Sikandar Sur with 50,000 horse. Tatar Khan gained some preliminary advantage, for the Mughal commandar evacuated Sirhind and fell back on the main army. Consequently, the Afghans were in high spirits. Numerically superior, they were keen to come to grips with the Mughal army, but they were kept at bay by the Mughal archers till night-fall. Unfortunately a fire broke out in a large village of thatched houses and exposed the Afghan army completely. The Mughal archers took full advantage of it and plied them with showers of arrows till they broke and fled leaving their elephants and property to the Mughals. The Mughals then pushed on to Sirhind under Bairam Khan.²

BATTLE OF SIRHIND:- Sikandar Sur was also not inactive. He came to Sirhind with a large army estimated at 80,000 horse. Bairam Khan fortified his position and sent a request to Humayun who was then at Lahore, to send reinforcements.³ Prince Akbar was immediately ordered by the Emperor to go, he himself followed and joined the army at Sirhind. The Mughals tried to harass the Afghans and cut off their supplies. In one

- 1. - o . , ori go, P.
-Vol. II, H.W. Lowe, P. 188
- 2. - o . II, Erskine, P. 513
- o . II, Beveridge, P. 638
-Vol. II, Erskine, P. 513
o . , Text, PP. 93-94
- 3. - -Vol. II, Blochman, P. 330
- , Bayasid Biyat, PP. 190-199

of the raids, Tardi Beg got the better of the Afghans, captured an important supply train and killed the brother of Sikandar Sur. In their rage, the Afghans opened an attack, On June 22, 1555, a decisive battle was fought at Sirhind. The Afghans broke and fled. Sikandar Sur narrowly escaped with his life into the Shivalik hills. The victory was complete. The most remarkable thing in this battle was that on both sides humanity and gentleness were practised, so much so that the bodies of those who had sacrificed their lives were reverently made over to their respective friends.¹

The first act of Humayun's government was to distribute the provinces among his men. Hissar Feroza, was assigned to Akbar, being province Humayun himself had received from Babar, when he first entered India. Sirhind and some other districts were granted to Bairam Khan in addition to Qandhar, which he already held. Before leaving for Sirhind² to reinforce Bairam Khan, Humayun had appointed Farhat Khan, as governor of the Panjab, with suitable officers to support him. Babar Khan was made the military commander, Mirza Shah Sultan, civil administrator and Mehtar Jauhar the treasurer of the Panjab.³

Later, when after the battle of Sirhind, Sikandar Sur was threatening the Panjab from the Shivalik hills, where he had fled, Shah Abul Maali was appointed the governor of Jullundur Doab, to check him. He was ordered to proceed to Jullundur immediately and to establish his headquarters there, to watch the activities of Sikandar. But instead of remaining at Jullundur, Shah Abul Maali proceeded to Lahore and he speedily usurped all the powers of the province from Farhat Khan and began to act like an absolute sovereign.⁴

1. O. . . , ver dge, P. . .
2. -Vol.II, Beveridge, P. 623
Ers . . . calls him Farhat Khan (History of India-Vol.II, P. 523)
3. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP. 488-489
Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P. 623
4. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P. 639

From Jullundur to Lahore, the ill-advised movement of the Shah gave an opportunity to Sikandar to occupy the Jullundur Doab and he began to collect the revenue. Humayun designated Akbar, the heir apparent in ^{Shah's} place. Bairam Khan was to assist the young prince, ¹ in order to put down Sikandar's depredations.

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B chman, PP.
History of India-Vol.II, Erskine, PP.401,420,512
Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, PP.639-640

CHAPTER - III

AKBAR - 1556-1605

Akbar was at Haryana with Bairam Khan when he received the news¹ of his father's precarious condition and Bairam Khan instead of advancing² against Sikander Sur, who had taken refuge in the fort of Mankot, proceeded to Kalansur, to turn to Lahore. Another messenger Nazar³ Shaikh Juli waited upon Akbar at Kalansur, who had reached there by that time and broke the sad news of Humayun's death. Bairam Khan, too immediate steps to enthrone Akbar on a brick platform, which was erected for the occasion and proclaimed him the Emperor of India, on⁴ February 14, 1556. The accession ceremony at Kalansur was performed to register Akbar's claim to sovereignty. His small army under Bairam Khan had a precarious hold on certain tracts of the Panjab and even that army could not be implicitly trusted.

From the very beginning, Bairam Khan acted with vigilance and promptness. Of ^{Akbar's} possible rivals, there was one Shah Abul Maali. This young man traced his descent to the Saiyids of Tirmiz who were held in great veneration all over Central Asia. His most attractive and handsome physique, graceful manners, dashing courage and straightforwardness had made him a favourite of Humayun, who used to address him by the exalted title of son (Farzand) and always gave him a seat of honour in the councils and banquets. First he declined to attend

1. - - - - - O . . . e., P.
2. - - - - - O . . . Beveridge, P. 367
3. - - - - - Vol. I, B. De., P. 139
4. - - - - - Vol. II, B. De., P. 139
5. - - - - - Vol. II, Briggs, P. 133
6. - - - - - O . . . I, Beveridge, P.
7. - - - - - Vol. II, P.

Akbar's coronation at Kalanaur, but later, at a special invitation the Shah attended the ceremony. The Shah thrusted himself forward into a place to which he had no claim and behaved with such gross disregard of propriety that it became necessary to arrest him. According to a pre-conceived plan he was arrested. The removal of this most arrogant, ambitious and powerful 'Amir', averted for the time being, every possibility of immediate trouble in the imperial camp.

India at this time presented a dark as well as a complex picture. Humayun had hardly got any time to recover his old possessions or even to consolidate what little he had actually achieved; consequently the whole of his dominions and especially the Panjab was almost in an unstable condition. In the north-west, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half brother, the governor of Kabul was almost independent. The Panjab was divided into three well-defined groups, when Akbar had his formal coronation ceremony at Kalanaur. First was the Eastern Belt ranging from the Ravi. It comprised the Himachal Hindu Rajput States e.g. Kangra, under Dharam Chand Katoch, Siba under Prag Chand, Nurpur under Takhat Mal, who had allied himself with Sikander Sur, and was helping him with men and money, Chamba under Ganesh Varman, Suket under Arjan Sen, Mandi under Sahib Sen. The strongest of all these Hindu States was Kangra. Shahpur State was under the sway of a Muslim chief of the Pathania clan.

The second Belt stretched from the Chenab and also embraced a portion of Lower Eastern Valley of the Jhelum. It included Jammu, Mankot, Jasrota, Bisholi, and some more petty states under various

1. Akbarnama-Vol.I, Beveridge, P.

2. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, PP.28-31

3. Tabakat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De., P.210

Tarikh-i-Firishhta-Vol.II, Briggs, PP.183-183

4. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.39

Tabakat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De., PP.210-211

5. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.36

6. History of the Panjab Hill States-Vol.I, & II, H.& Vogel, PP.137, 200, 212, 222, 297, 342, 450, 479, 499

Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.35

other chiefs. This part of the group again was primarily Hindu in whi Jammu under Kapur Dev occupied very important place. The Western Belt extending from the Upper Valley of the Chenab to the Upper Valley of the Indus was made up of Kashmir under Ghazi Khan. The other independent small states of this Belt were Gingal, Muzaffarabad, Khazain Garhi, Rash Dhanthamar, Gandgarh, Darband, Tarbela, Pharwala (Rawalpindi), Sultanpur and Khanpur, which were all Muslim tribes such as the Khaka, Bambas, Afghans and Gakhars, under the hegemony of Kashmir ruler Ghazi Khan.

Sindh and Multan had become independent from the imperial control. The Surs were still in occupation of the greater portion of Sher Shah's dominions from Delhi to Rohtas, on the road to Kabul.

Hemu, the capable general of Adil Shah Sur had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughal governors and had occupied Delhi. At this time Akbar was at Jullundur with his troops, engaged in quelling the disturbance caused by Sikander Sur. On receipt of this news, he left behind Khawaja Khizr Khan to check the movements of Sikander Sur and he himself marched, on October 13, 1556, towards Delhi. When he reached the vicinity of Sirhind, the three fugitive Mughal governors of Agra, Delhi and Sambhal joined Akbar and counselled him to retreat to Kabul. Bairam Khan, however, decided to risk all in the attempt to recover Delhi, and persuaded Akbar to adopt his views. On account of cowardice shown on the occasion, Tardi Beg was put to death by Bairam Khan. He also imprisoned Khawaja Sultan Ali and the Mir Munshi who were suspected to be guilty of treachery and cowardice.

1. Akbarnama - Vol. II, H.W. Lowe, P. 50
Akbarnama - Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 50
Tarikh-i-Firishita - Vol. II, Briggs, PP. 185-186
Tabcat-i-Akbari - Vol. II, B.De., PP. 213-214
2. Tabcat-i-Akbari - Vol. II, B.De., P. 215
3. Akbarnama - Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 50
4. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh - Vol. II, H.W. Lowe, P. 7
5. Tabcat-i-Akbari - Vol. II, H.W. Lowe, PP. 215-217
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh - Vol. III, H.W. Lowe, P. 7

SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT - 1556:- Akbar advanced from Sirhind having decided to resolve this issue by force of arms. He sent a strong chosen force under Ali Quli Khan Shaibani in advance. Hemu with a huge army and fifteen hundred elephants, hastened to oppose them. His artillery, which had been sent in advance, was captured by the vanguard of Ali Quli Khan in a preliminary engagement, but even after this loss, Hemu possessed immense superiority in strength.¹

On the early morning of Friday, the 5th November, 1556, the news of Hemu's arrival at Panipat from Delhi was received from the scouts. The generals of Akbar arrayed the troops. Meanwhile the main bodies of two armies were in motion. Bairam Khan detained Akbar at a safe distance from the field and entrusted the command of the centre to Ali Quli Khan, the Khan Zaman. Hemu's army on account of its superiority in number managed to envelope Akbar's forces and threw its both wings into confusion. Hemu then attempted to decide the fate of the day by leading against the centre, with his fifteen hundred elephants, on which he chiefly relied.

The Mughals fought valiantly but were just about to give way² when a stray arrow struck Hemu in the eye and made him unconscious. Hemu's army, presuming that their leader was dead, was panic stricken³ and scattered in all directions making no further attempt to resist. Hemu was overtaken by Shah Quli Khan who took him into the presence⁴ of Akbar. His head was sent to Kabul and his body was gibbeted at⁵ Delhi by way of giving a warning to other like-minded persons. Thus

1. - - - - - o . . . e .
- - - - - Vol. II, Briggs, P. 186
2. o . . . Veridge, PP. 58-65
3. - V. A. Smith, P. 38
4. - o . I, Beveridge, PP. 58-65
- Vol. II, H. W. Lowe, PP. 6-9
- - - - - o . I, B. De., P. 219
5. - - - - - Vol. II, H. W. Lowe, P. 8
- - - - - o . I, B. De., P. 220
- o . I, Beveridge, PP. 65-68
- Smith, PP. 36-37

ended the career of one of the most remarkable persons of the sixteen century. Numerous reasons have been assigned for his ultimate defeat but these are either fanciful or speculative, if not malicious. The causes of his defeat were the capture of his artillery and the random arrow which made him unconscious and caused panic in his army. His defeat was accidental and the victory of Akbar providential.

Akbar was at Delhi when the news reached on March 10, 1556⁷ that at the instigation of Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri Sikander Sur had descended upon the plains of the Jullundur Doab and had begun to collect land revenue. Khizer Khan the governor handing over Lahore to Haji Muhammad Khan, set out to oppose him near the town of Chamiani, but could not face the enemy and retreated to Lahore. On December 17, 1556, the imperial forces immediately advanced through Jullundur, into the Shivalik hills and encamped at Dasuya and further moved to Nurpur. The Hill Rajas who had sided with Sikander Sur, deserted him and submitted to Akbar. At this, Sikander was much disheartened and finding himself too weak to withstand the onslaughts of the imperial army, fled without encountering the enemy and took refuge in the fort of Mankot.

Receiving the news of Sikander's flight to the fort of Mankot, Akbar's forces pursued and besieged the fort. Meanwhile the supply of corn began to run short, and the desertion of the soldiers from the fort became more and more frequent. Sikander's request for surrender was granted and Behar was given to him as a fief. The fort was put

1. - ol. I, ver ge, PP.
2. - -Vol. II, W.H. Lowe, PP. 10-12
Vol. II, Text, P. 48
- - -Vol. I, Blochman, P. 335
3. A es north-east of Lahore.
4. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett-Sarkar, P. 320
Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 49
Headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Hoshiarpur District.
5. 37 miles west of Dharamsala on the road to Pathankot.
6. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. II, H.W. Lowe, P. 11
7. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, PP. 76-79
8. Tahqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., PP. 222-223

under the charge of Abul Qasim¹, for the time being. Takhatmal² who sided with Sikander Sur, was decapitated under the orders of Bairam Khan and Mankot³ was bestowed upon Bakhatazawar, brother of Takhatmal who gave a pledge to remain loyal to the Emperor. Akbar moved from Mankot and reached Lahore.

From Akbar's reign the Panjab began to be governed regularly by the governors appointed by the Great Mughals. Thus, at the dismissal of Shah Abul Ma'ali, Hussain Khan Tukriya who was formerly in Bairam Khan's service, was appointed the governor, in 1557, immediately after the conquest of Mankot. Tukriya was known as the Don quixote of Akbar's reign. During his office, he had ordered the Hindus to wear patch (Tukra) near the shoulders and thus, got the nickname of Tukriya (Patcher). He governed the Panjab only for one year and died in 1557.⁴

Farhat Khan Mihtar Sakai, succeeded Hussain Khan Tukriya, in 1558.⁵ He had already acted as governor of this province in 1555. Farhat Khan governed the Panjab, with an iron hand. The only event which occurred, during his governorship, was the rebellion of Bairam Khan. Shams-ul-din Atga Khan was deputed to quell the rebellion of Bairam Khan.⁶

REBELLION OF BAIRAM KHAN - 1560:- The regency of Bairam Khan which had been responsible for the firm establishment of the Mughal rule in India, lasted for four years. Though he had rendered valuable service to the Mughals, yet numerous forces were active in undermining his influence. His most formidable opponents were the Turkish nobles in general and foster-parents of Akbar in particular. They wanted to shake Bairam's power at any cost and induced the Emperor to nullify his

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1. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.91
 2. Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De. PP.224-25
 3. History of the Panjab Hill States-H. & Vogel, PP.223-24
 - History of India-Vol.V, Elliot and Dowson, P.96
 4. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP.402-403
 5. Tarikh-i-Firishat-Vol.II, Briggs, PP.199-202
 6. Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP.438-439

power in the court. Akbar also wanted to get rid of Bairam Khan's tutelage. In 1560 the Emperor openly expressed to Bairam Khan his determination to take the reins of government into his own hands. Bairam Khan was asked to proceed to Mecca, which in a way implied his dismissal¹ from service.

In spite of his many friends' advice to take up arms against Akbar,² Bairam Khan did not like to stain the glorious record of his life long service to the Mughal family and after some hesitation, complied with the royal command and surrendered the insignia of his office to Akbar.³ He proceeded in 1560, leisurely to the Panjab to recover his private treasure, which he had left at Sirhind and Lahore. The court sent Mullah Pir Muhammad, a personal enemy and former subordinate of Bairam Khan⁴ "to pack off Bairam" out of the imperial dominions.

Bairam Khan was now fully convinced that his enemies were adamant of his ruin, after some fatal hesitation, due to his feeling of loyalty, decided to vindicate himself by taking up arms and punish his enemies. Instead of going to Mecca, he turned from Bikaner to the Panjab and revolted against the Emperor. Akbar was alarmed at this, and gave orders for general mobilisation. On Friday, April 13, 1560, Mir Abdul Latif hastened in advance to check Bairam's progress. Akbar himself⁵ marched and encamped at Jhajar on April 23, 1560.⁶

Meanwhile, Bairam had arrived at the fort of Tabarinda⁷ in the Panjab which was the fief of Sher Muhammad Dewana, who was his old servant and had received many favours at his hand. Bairam left his

- 1. - - - - - Vol.II.W.H.Lowe,P.18
- 2. - - - - - O . I, B.De., P.238
- 3. - - - - - Vol.I, Blochman, P.330
- 4. - - - - - ol.II, Beveridge, P.153
- 5. - - - - - Vol.II, Blochman, P.342
- 6. 1 y- - - - - miles west of Delhi.
- 7. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.III, Blochman, P.591
- 8. Tabakat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De., P.243
- 9. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.166
- 10. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.II, Blochman, P.591

family and his luggage in the fort¹ with Sher Muhammad. But contrary to expectations, Sher Muhammad Devana, turned traitor and appropriated¹ Bairam's whole property to himself. He then proceeded to Dipalpur, governed by Darvesh Muhammad Uzbek, one of his old adherents. The governor behaved in the same manner as Devana. All hopes of success at an end,² Bairam Khan now marched to Jullundur and advanced by way of Tihara, where a party of his friends under Wali Beg was defeated by Abdullah Khan Mughal, the fief of Tihara.

³
The royal army blocked the path of Bairam Khan at Dikdar, near Jullundur. He was trying to capture Jullundur when he heard of the approach of Atka Khan. Bairam Khan divided his forces into two parts. The advance guard was under the command of Wali Beg, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and others. He himself advanced with nearly fifty big elephants and took charge of the centre. On the other side Shams-ud-din Muhammad⁴ Atka Khan arrayed his forces and was supported by Shamas-ud-din Muhammad. The right wing was commanded by Qasim Khan and other devoted⁵ servants formed the vanguard. Yusaf Muhammad Khan Kokaltash with some men took his post between the centre and the vanguard. Though Bairam Khan did not have many men with him, but they were all experienced soldiers. He had much reliance on the royal army as many of them had sent letters offering their help to him, on account of their former attachments.

⁶
When these two forces reached near the village of Gunachaur on⁷ the 23rd August, 1560, there were brave feats on both the sides. In the

1. Sixteen miles south of Okara, on the old high bank of the Beas.

2. Fort of Tihara situated on the bank of the Satluj, to the west of Ludhiana (Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, P. 140)

3. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 169

4. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, P. 338

5. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, PP. 169-170

Tabakat-i-Akbari-Vol. I, B. De., PP. 245-46

6. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 120 (This is a very old village two miles to the south of Banga in Nawanshahar Tehsil of Jullundur District.)

Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, P. 332)

7. Tabakat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., P. 246

first encounter the advance corps of Bairam Khan displayed such valour that most of the soldiers of the Imperial army were forced to flee. At this time, when Bairam Khan's men had almost routed the foe and were pursuing them, ¹Bairam Khan advanced to overthrow Atka Khan; but as ill-luck would have been his elephant stuck in the bog. Atka Khan seized the opportunity and began to shoot arrows upon the elephants. Bairam Khan with a mind to charge the imperial army from the left withdrew a little to strike more vigorously but his men taking that to be a signal of flight turned their backs and began to desert in confusion.

Atka Khan sent Yusuf Muhammad Khan with a body of brave men, and when Bairam Khan turned back in order to renew his attack his forces were defeated and Bairam Khan had to withdraw and retreat in disgrace. Atka Khan was prudent and did not pursue Bairam Khan for very long. ²The news of this victory over Bairam Khan was brought to Akbar when he was at Sirhind. ³

After his flight from Gunachaur, Bairam Khan fled towards the Shivalik hills to recoup his strength, from where he wanted to try his luck once again. To pursue him, the royal camp moved towards the Shivalik Hills from Ludhiana ⁴on the first October, 1560. Bairam Khan had ⁵fortified himself in the capital of Raja Ganesh of Talwara who was a strong chief in the midst of the Shivalik hills. A great battle was ⁶fought between the Imperialists and Bairam's troops at Talwara. ⁷Sultan Hussain Jalair, one of the most trusted friends of Bairam Khan died on the battle field, whose head was cut off and sent to Bairam Khan, who

1. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.171

2. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, PP.171-172

3. Akbar favoured Atka Khan and made over the choicest parts of the Panjab to him and his brother (Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, P.338)

4. Tabakat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, Blochman, P.248

5. "Gobind Chand" says, Badauni ^{B.21}

6. It is situated on Mokerian and Rangarh road in Hoshiarpur District. (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.II, H.W.Lowe, P.38)

7. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, P.417

seeing it wept with great grief.¹

Half-hearted rebel, Bairam Khan, was driven to despair and dismay at the death of his friend Hussain Jalair and at his own untenable position. He, therefore, threw himself on the mercy of the Emperor, on October, 1560. Akbar was not oblivious of the great services which Bairam had rendered to the emperor and his family. He, therefore, rose from his seat, accosted him well, embraced him, and seated him on his right side. Bairam burst into tears at this unexpected reception which intensified all the more his feelings of humiliation. The Emperor consoled him with kind words and presented him his own robe.² Akbar was at Haryana when Bairam Khan was granted the royal pardon from where the Khan-i-Khanan left for Mecca.

Bairam Khan, like all masterfull persons, had considered himself indispensable; his fall was, sooner or later, inevitable.

After appointing Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan to the governorship of the Panjab, Akbar returned to Delhi at the head of the triumphant army, on November 24, 1560, from where he proceeded to Agra and arrived there on December 21, 1560.³

Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan was the son of Yar Muhammad of Ghasni who entered the service of Mirza Kamran as an ordinary soldier and was present in the battle of Qanauj, in 1540. He distinguished himself in the wars against Sikandar Shah Sur and, thus, for his good services was appointed as the governor in 1561. He was also awarded flag and drums and the title of Khan-i-Azim in the same year.⁴

2. - - - - - P.
-Vol.I, Blochman, PP. 332, 417
-Vol.II, Lowe, P. 139

- Akbarnama - ol.II, Beveridge, P. 179
Ain-i-Akbari - Vol.II, Blochman, P. 544
3. Akbarnama - Vol.II, Beveridge, P. 187
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh - Vol.II, Lowe, PP. 39-40
4. Ain-i-Akbari - Vol.I, Blochman, PP. 274, 337-38
Tabakat-i-Akbari - Vol.II, B. De., PP. 345, 357
The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire - Ibn Hasan, PP. 125-37
Akbar the Great Mughal - Smith, PP. 20, 55, 69, 97

Mir Muhammad, the Khan-i-Kalan was the elder brother of Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan. He was appointed the governor in 1566 when Shamas-ud-din was called to Delhi for appointment as Prime Minister of the Mughal India. During his governorship two major events took place, which occupy a conspicuous place in the history of the Panjab. The first was the reduction of the Gakhars and the second was the first¹ invasion of the Panjab by Muhammad Hakim Mirza.

MUHAMMAD HAKIM MIRZA - 1566:- Mirza Hakim, Akbar's step brother, being² driven out of Kabul by an invasion of Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan, he came to India to seek Akbar's help. Akbar was pleased to order Khan-i-Kalan to help the Mirza. Meanwhile, the Mirza changed his mind. Encouraged by the Uzbek rebellion and instigated by his maternal uncle Faridun, Mirza Hakim invaded the Panjab in 1566. As his invasion came as a surprise, he found no serious opposition. Plundering Bhera on his way, he came to besiege Lahore. Akbar was beside himself with anger and³ on November 17, 1566 marched from Agra to repel his brother.

The report about the Mirza's advance put the Panjab officers on their guard and Khan-i-Kalan and others concerted together to defend the fort of Lahore. The Mirza reached the vicinity of Lahore and encamped in the gardens of Mahdi Qasim Khan. Next day the fort was besieged but all the hopes of Mirza, to take it by storm were frustrated by the brave defence of the besieged. When the news of the march of Akbar was broken to the Mirza he was dejected and being afraid of⁴ his own safety, hurriedly went back towards the Indus.

The hurried retreat of the Mirza was extremely fortunate. If he had managed to hold on in India for some time more, he would have found his cause more hopeful. For, while the Emperor's attention was

1. - - - - - an, PP.
2. - - - - - Vol. II, B. De., P. 290
3. - - - - - ol. I, Blochman, PP. 519-525
4. - - - - - ol. II, Beveridge, PP. 410-411
- Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 410

engrossed in the Panjab, rebellions broke out in the Utra Pradesh, from Sambhal to Jaunpur. The Mirzas of Sambhal were in open rebellion; the Uzbeks were up in arms and had been joined by Asaf Khan of the Garh-Katanga fame. The Uzbeks had already read the Khutba in the name of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Taken between two fires, Akbar would have found his affairs most desperate. Indeed, since the days of Hemu, Akbar had to face no crisis more serious than this. But stars were fighting for Akbar. The rebel Mirza had no definite plan and could not unite for action. Akbar learnt about it while he was on the banks of the Gatlaj, and reached Lahore by the end of February, in 1567.¹ After this conquest Shams-ud-din Atka Khan was appointed the governor of Patan and on his transfer Khan Jahan Hussain Quli Khan was appointed the governor of the Panjab.²

Khan Jahan Hussain Quli Khan was the son of Bairam Khan's sister whose father was much attached to Bairam Khan. During his governorship, two important events took place. One of these was the expedition of Nagarkot (Kangra) to subdue Raja Jai Chand. The conquest of this impregnable stronghold of the Himachal Rajput Chiefs was the question of the prestige and the honour of the Mughal Emperor. The second event, the revolt of Ibrahim Husain Mirza was equally important.³

EXPEDITION OF NAGARKOT - 1572:- Akbar was alienated from Jai Chand,⁴ Raja of Nagarkot on some account and ordered Hussain Quli Khan, to imprison him and to send him to Delhi. At the Raja's arrest, Bidhi Chand the son of the Raja thinking that his father was dead, rebelled⁵

1. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.411

2. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP.338-39

3. Ibid. PP.343-50, 161, 214

Tabaqat-i-Akbari-Vol.II, B.De., PP.98, 116

4. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.II, Lowe, P.161

Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, P.349

5. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.II, Lowe, PP.116-117

6. The Cambridge History of India-Vol.V, P.103

against Akbar. Akbar bestowed the country of Nagarkot on Birbar¹ and wrote a 'Firman'² to Hussain Quli Khan to seize Nagarkot and hand it over to Birbar.

There was a very thick jungle on the way and the Mughal forces had to move towards Nagarkot with great difficulty. The troops in their first attack conquered the citadel of Bhul in which there was a temple of the Goddess Mahamai. A number of Rajputs with desperate courage stood firm and performed great deeds of valour but at last they yielded. Many Brahmans who had for years been attendants of the temple, were killed. About two hundred black cows, which the Hindus had left in that temple as offerings, were killed in that great tumult. They then took off their boots and filled them with that blood and splashed the blood³ on the walls of the temple.

As the outer fortifications of Nagarkot had now come into possession of the Imperial army, the buildings were razed to the ground to make room for the Mughal camp. After that the siege commenced and covered ways and batteries were constructed. Some pieces of heavy cannons were brought to the foot of the hills, and fired. Eighty persons lost their lives by one shot, in that operation, yet the valour of the Rajputs did not submit. Raja Bidhi Chand tried his best to escape, but in vain.

The expedition had to be postponed when the news *was* received of the disturbances created by Mirza Ibrahim Husain, who had advanced to Lahore after his defeat by the Imperial army in Cambay (Gujrat) where he had revolted against Akbar. He came to the Panjab knowing that the governor of the Panjab, Husain Quli Khan was pre-occupied with the expedition of Nagarkot and that there was no one else to check him.

1.

2.

3.

4.

- .W. .P.

- ol.I, H. & Vogel, P.199

- o .I , De., P.

-Vol.I, Lowe, PP.165-67

-Vol.II, Lowe, P.267

- o .II, B.De., P.402

Husain quli Khan was now between the devil and the deep sea. The subjugation of the Raja was all the more important and to check the progress of the rebel towards the Panjab was imperative. His troops were also confronted with hardships in this hilly area. His commanders were also demoralised and asked him to sue for peace with the Raja. So under these circumstances Husain quli Khan concluded a treaty with Raja Bidhi Chand under the terms given below:-

- a. That the Raja would send his daughter to the royal harem.
- b. The Raja would pay five maunds of gold as tribute according to the weight of Akbar Shah which was equal to one year's revenue of the temple.¹
- c. Much stuff and precious things of all kinds were also usurped by the imperial army.²
- d. The coins were struck in the name of Akbar.³
- e. On a Friday in the middle of shawwal 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.) a pulpit was erected and Hafiz Muhammad Baqir read the Khutba in the name of the Emperor.⁴
- f. The Raja undertook to acknowledge formally the suzerainty of Akbar.⁵
- g. Because the province was given to Raja Birbal as his jagir, a large sum was to be given to him as compensation.

The revolt of Ibrahim Husain Mirza had interrupted and rendered ineffective this expedition which Husain quli Khan had undertaken with good hopes of complete success. He had occupied the outer town but the garrison in the citadel still held out, when he was obliged to withdraw his troops to pursue the rebel Mirza. The capture of the fort was deferred until 1620, when it was occupied in the reign of Jahangir.

Mirza Ibrahim Husain being defeated by Akbar, in Gujrat, marched to the Panjab with about three hundred men and sacked the towns of Sonapat, Panipat and Karnal on the way to Lahore. A large number of turbulent men joined him and caused much trouble in this province.

1. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. II, Lowe, P. 167

2. Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., P. 402

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. II, Lowe, P. 167

Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, P. 349

3. Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., P. 402

Akbarnama-Vol. III, Beveridge, PP. 36-37

He built the cupola of a lofty mosque over the gate-way of Raja Bidhi Chand's ^{palace} (Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. II, Lowe, P. 167)

4. Ibid.

5. Akbar the Great Mughal-Smith, PP. 116-117

6. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was the son of Muhammad Sultan Mirza who was the descendant of Timur. (Akbarnama-Vol. III, Beveridge, P. 48)

Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 513-14

Hussain Quli Khan, by forced marches advancing with his troops reached the town of Talamba and defeated the Mirza. Hussain Quli Khan was replaced by Shah Quli Maharam, in 1575, to the governorship of the Panjab.¹ Formerly Shah Quli Maharam was in the service of Bairam Khan and he distinguished himself in the war against Hemu. He remained loyal to the Khan-i-Khanan during his adversity, but was pardoned by the Emperor along with Bairam Khan at Talwara. He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour but he could not suppress the turbulent people of the Panjab, properly. His administration began to deteriorate on account of his leniency. Criminals and miscreants were not punished and thus great disorder prevailed in the province. When Akbar was informed about this state of affairs, he issued orders for his recall in 1578 and Sa'id Khan was sent to take over the charge. He died at Agra in 1601. He erected splendid buildings, at Narnaul, where he chiefly lived after his retirement, and dug there large tanks.

Seven years of Sa'id Khan's governorship were very eventful, as the Emperor's attention was mainly directed to the North-West Frontier. "The year 1581 may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggle to consolidate his power be not taken into account."² Kashmir and Kabul were two important frontier provinces, where the maintenance of complete control was necessary for the safety of the Mughal empire and thus, no sort of disturbance could be tolerated in this part. Sa'id Khan had to deal with this problem during his governorship.

³

SECOND INVASION OF MUHAMMAD HAKIM MIRZA - 1581:-In 1581 news arrived

1. -Vo . . . e, PP.
-Vol. II, Lowe, P. 161
-Vol. IV, P. 108
2. .
3. - o . I, Beveridge, P. 544
-Vol. II, B. De., P. 323

that Mirza Muhammad Hakim on the invitation of Asir Kabuli, Masum Faran-khudi and Faridun, Mirza's maternal uncle, was to invade India. It was indeed the good fortune of Akbar that Hakim's project of invading India was postponed owing to a civil war in Badakhshan. Had he invaded earlier when the Bengal rebellion was at its height, and symptoms of disaffection were visible in other parts of the empire, the task of Akbar would have been made far more difficult, though by no means hopeless. When, however the Kabul army marched upon India the political situation had somewhat eased, though the rebellion in the east was yet far from being brought under control. It was in December 1580, that the advance party of the Kabul troops crossed the Indus. Yusuf, the governor of Rohtas, loyally supported by the brave Gakhars showed full energy, in offering opposition. Nur-ud-din Haji, one of the military commanders of the Mirza, was killed and the Afghan troops were driven back. Akbar mustered together a huge army of fifty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants and innumerable infantry, on February 8, 1581 and moved to Lahore, accompanied by Prince Salim and Prince Murad.

Akbar ordered Kunwar Man Singh to march forward and take charge of the frontier. Man Singh moved up immediately and sent some troops to Rawalpindi as he expected another attack to revenge the failure of Nur-ud-din. He was right in his calculations. For, Shadman, "the sword of Afghan army", laid siege to the fort of Nilab, fifteen miles below Attock, on 18 ^{February,} ~~December~~, 1581. Man Singh hurried up to Nilab with his Rajput troops. On the 24th, a battle was fought between the Afghans and the Rajputs in which the former were defeated. In a hand-to-hand combat Shadman was mortally wounded by Raja Suraj Singh, the brother of Man Singh, and the commander of the Mughal vanguard. Though taken away

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1. Akbar the Great Mughal-Smith, P. 188
 2. The Cambridge History of India-Vol. V, P. 128
 3. Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., P. 323
 4. Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., PP. 371-373
 5. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. II, Ranking, P. 399
 6. Akbarnama-Vol. III, Beveridge, P. 493

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alive from the field, Shadman died shortly after. As soon as the death of Shadman was reported, Hakim advanced with fifteen thousand cavalry. Akbar had already anticipated this movement, and had sent instruction to the officers of the Indus region not to oppose the passage of the Mirza across the Indus, and to put off engagement till he himself had joined them. Consequently Man Singh fell back upon Lahore to organize a strong defence there. The Mirza now crossed the Indus and invited Yusuf, governor of Rohtas, to join him but the invitation was declined. Thinking it a sheer waste of time to attempt to capture Rohtas, on 15th February, 1581, Hakim pushed on to Lahore, which he laid under siege but Lahore was bravely defended by Raja Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and others, and the efforts of the Mirza to capture it came to nothing. His disappointment was great when he found that not a single officer, Hindu or Mussalman, nor even the Mullas of Lahore, joined him against Akbar.

4

When the Emperor was encamped at Shahabad he learnt about a high treason of Khawaja Shah Mansur, his trusted finance minister, ^{who} he was in league with the Mirza. Man Singh had found in the portfolio of Shadman, the Afghan General, three letters written to Hakim-ul-Mulqasim Khan Mir Bahr and Khawaja Shah Mansur respectively, purporting to be answers to the letters of invitation and encouragement written to Hakim by those officers. Later some more letters were intercepted. Eventually at Shahbad, before a gathering of chief nobles and other officials, Abul Fazl read out the charges against Mansur, who was hanged on a 'Babul' tree on February 27, 1581. Thus ended the life of

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1. *Amir-i-Hind*, Vol. II, Lowe, P. 1
 2. *Amir-i-Hind*, Vol. III, Beveridge, P. 494
 3. *Amir-i-Hind*, Vol. III, Beveridge, P. 507
 4. *Amir-i-Hind*, Vol. III, Beveridge, P. 511
 5. *Amir-i-Hind*, Vol. II, Lowe, P. 300
 6. *Amir-i-Hind*, Vol. II, Lowe, PP. 300-301

Khawaja Shah Mansur was hanged on a tree near the Sarai of Kot Kachwaha which is a village on the road from Karnal to Ludhiana". (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, Blochman, P. 477)

an able Finance Minister.

A bitter controversy had raged round the death of the Khawaja. Some had pronounced it as "a foul play", while others ~~had~~¹ justified it fully. Whatever might be the various approaches to the incident but a careful and minute study makes us believe that political considerations and the highly charged atmosphere necessitated immediate and drastic action even without meticulous justice. His death, at that time came as a warning to some and relief to all.

After this execution, Akbar resumed his march to Lahore and passing through Ambala and Sirhind he arrived at Pael,² where the happy news of Mirza Hakim's flight was broken to him. Up till then Akbar seemed to be constantly frowning with deep anxiety but the news of Mirza's surrender,³ made him cheerful.

It was necessary for Akbar to go to Lahore. He, therefore, decided to proceed to the frontier to organize the defences there and lay the foundation of a strong fort at Attock to act as a bulwark against an invasion from Kabul and to form the last link of the mighty defences erected by Sher Shah and Islam Shah at Rohtas and Mankot. Here he laid the foundation of a strong fort, which he named Attock Banaras to rhyme with Cuttack Banaras, the farthest eastern limit of his empire in Orissa. A message was sent to Hakim to come in person and settle terms or failing that, he should send one of his sons with his sister Bakhtunnissa Begam.⁴ Hakim, however, did not think it worthwhile to reply to it. For the complete submission of the Mirza, Akbar advanced towards Kabul. He ordered his troops to proceed to Rohtas and himself followed soon after and joined the troops where the Emperor

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP.476-477

Akbarnama-Vol.III, Beveridge, P.502

Commentary by Monserate-J.S.Hoyland, P.77

2. 4 miles to the West from Chawa-Pael railway station in Ludhiana District.

3. Commentary by Monserate-J.S.Hoyland, P.102

4. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.II, Lowe, P.301

was entertained royally by Yusuf Khan, the governor of the fort. Then by way of Rewat, Nagar and Hazara, Akbar reached the Indus and encamp¹ed there.

After fifty days' stay on the Indus, Prince Murad and Raja Man Singh were sent in advance. Akbar also reached Kabul on August 9, 1581. Muhammad Hakim Mirza, now completely surrendered and at the intercess²ion of Ali Muhammad, the Emperor forgave him and reinstated him on the throne of Kabul. After this, Akbar returned to Lahore. This was the first time in the history of Mughal India after Babar when one of her rulers made a triumphal entry into Kabul. But for several reasons it was not advisable to stay at Kabul. Akbar had been absent from the capital for over six months and was, therefore, anxious to return as soon as he could.

LAHORE - IMPERIAL HEAD-QUARTER - 1585-1598:- For the next fourteen year (1585-1598), Akbar made Lahore the capital of India as the condition of Kabul and Kashmir was very disorderly. The frontier tribes were very turbulent and thus were continually causing disorder in the Panjab. He conducted military operations against Kashmir, planned wars with North-East Afghanistan, and under-took the conquest of Sindh and Gandhar from Lahore. He was obviously very anxious to maintain the integrity of the empire by closing every possible route to India. He sent expeditions to conquer Kashmir, Swat, Bijaur and Biluchistan. Man Singh was sent to Kabul as its governor. Attock was made the head ba^sge for the frontier defence.³ It was, however, not proper to move the court back to Fatehpur so long as the frontier tribes had not been compelled to adopt a reasonable frame of mind. Kashmir was not subdued and the general situation had not improved. Moreover famine conditions

1. Commentary of Monserate-J.S. Hoyland, PP. 109-115

2. Akbarnama-Vol. III, Beveridge, PP. 539-547

3. Akbar the Great Mughal-Smith, PP. 231-50

Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., PP. 620-650

in the provinces of Agra and Delhi deterred him from going there. He, therefore, returned to Lahore in May 1584,^{and} made it the capital of the empire.

Akbar enlarged and repaired the fort and surrounded the town with a wall, portions of which remain, embeded in the modern work of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. During these years Akbar was visited by Portuguese missionaries, and by the Englishmen Fitch, Newbery, Leeds and Storey. Under Akbar, Lahore rapidly increased in area and population. Specimens of the mixed Hindu and Saracenic style adopted by Akbar, survive within the fort of Lahore, though largely defaced by later alterations.

Khawaja Shams-ud-din Khawafi was made governor of the Panjab, in 1598. He was a man of simple manners, very honest, faithful and practical in running the administration. He died at Lahore in 1600 and was buried in that quarter of the town which up to this day is known¹ as Khawafi-pura.

Zain Khan Koka was appointed the governor of the Panjab and Kabul in 1600 but was soon called back to Agra by the Emperor. He died in 1601 on account of excessive drinking. As Sa'id Khan was known for his eunuchs and Gulij Khan for his good horses, Zain Khan Koka was² famous for his elephants.

Mirza Gulij Khan was appointed the governor of the Panjab in 1601. During his governorship the people of the province were not happy in general and the Hindus in particular. His administration was³ arbitrary and also anti-Hindu.

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 393-95, 452, 9, 550
Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., PP. 533, 602, 606
2. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 367-369
Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., PP. 608-13
3. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, PP. 1196-1207
Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 35, 380-82
Tabqat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., P. 633
Ma'asir-ul-Umera-Vol. I, Shah Nawaz Khan (Cal. Ed. 1885), P. 435

CHAPTER - IV

JAHANGIR - 1605-1627

Within a few months of Jahangir's accession, occurred the rebellion of his eldest son Khusrau. The Emperor had forgiven him for his past conduct on the intercession of Khusrau's maternal uncle Raja Man Singh of Amber, but the Emperor had confined the Prince in one corner of the fort of Agra, soon after Man Singh's departure for Bengal on an expedition. The Prince had not forgotten the prospects of his succession to his grandfather's throne owing to the support of his powerful nobles. Besides, he could not reconcile himself to the indignity to which he was now subjected to as a State Prisoner. He planned to set himself free and to make a bid for the throne which had once been almost within his grasp. On the pretext of a ride to visit the tomb of Akbar, a few miles from Agra, he slipped out of the fort in the evening of April 6, 1606, with three hundred and fifty horses. He proceeded northward speedily. On the way he was joined by Husain Beg Badakhshi at the head of three hundred horse and soon his followers swelled to twelve thousand. He further intercepted an imperial convoy¹ of one lac of rupees.

Plundering the country around and seizing all available horses, Khusrau rushed on to Lahore. At night his troops quartered themselves on the poor villages, or lay down in the open fields where jackals² licked their feet. Flying past Delhi burning the Sarai of Narela, they were joined by Abdur Rahim Dewan of Lahore who like Hussain Beg, was on his way to the court. Khusrau invested him with the title of Anwar

1. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, PP.52-59

Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Text, PP.7-9

2. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.N.W. of Delhi (India of Aurangzeb-J.N.Sarkar,P.XCVIII)

¹
Khan and made him vazir.

²
En route to Lahore Khusrau reached Tarn Taran where he sought
and obtained the blessings of Guru Arjan. He represented himself as a
³
distressed and forlorn individual. From Tarn Taran he marched to Lahor
which was fully guarded by Dilawar Khan who had repaired the ramparts
and towers of the fort, mounted cannons and swivel guns.⁴

Khusrau's raw levies far out-numbered the royal soldiers within
the fort. To encourage them, Khusrau announced that after taking the
fort he would allow them to plunder the city for seven days. When the
siege had lasted nine days, news of the approach of the royal army
reached Khusrau who became helpless, and made up his mind to face the
royal army at the river Beas, before it reached Lahore. With a view
to make a night attack on the vanguard of the royal army, Khusrau left
Lahore with his ten to twelve thousand horsemen to face the royal
troops.⁵

On the other hand the royal troops under Shaikh Farid Bakhari
had crossed the river Beas at the ferry of Goindwal, in pursuit of
the rebels. Emperor Jahangir was at this time at Sarai Qazi, where he
was informed about the advance of both the armies. Although it rained
heavily at night, Jahangir continued his march to Sultanpur and halt-
ed there ^{at} till noon. Evidently a battle was to ensue between the two
armies.

⁶
THE BATTLE OF BHAIROWAL:- In this battle which took place at Bhairawal

1. ----- -Vol.I,R&B, PP.55-5.
Iqba nama-i-Jahangiri-Text,PP.9-10
History of India-Vol.II, Elliot and Dowson,P.448
2. 15,miles south of Amritsar. The town was built by Arjan, the 5th Guru
of the Sikhs.
3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.II,R&B,PP.61,72
Dabistan-i-Mazahib-Vol.II,David Shea,P.273
Guraj Parkash,Vol.II,P.2343
4. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I,R&B, P.62
5. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I,R&B, P.63
History of India-Vol.I, Gladwin,P.7
Maasir-ul-Umera-Vol.I, Beveridge,P.488
6. De-Laet,Hoyland,PP.175-176

Shaikh Farid Bokhari fought with all his might and devotion. Under his command the imperialists raised the battle cry of "Padshah Salamat" (God save the King) and charged. The engagement was short, bloody and decisive. The rebels gave up fighting and fled from the battle field. Four hundred Badakhshis and hundreds less renowned rebels lay down dead on the field. Among the survivors, all was confusion and dependency. Several hundreds fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Khusrau's box of jewels and precious things, which he always kept with him, fell into the hands of his enemies.¹ The rest of the spoils of Khusrau came into the hands of the royal army who thus gained a notable victory. When Jahangir reached Bhairawal, he named the place of the battle "Fatehpur", the place of victory.²

Prince Khusrau escaped with Hussain Beg and Abdur Rahim from the field. The deserted rebels were divided in their opinion as to the future course of action. The majority of the Indians, whose families resided hither, urged the advisability of going towards Agra, which was opposed by Hussain Beg, who argued to proceed to Kabul. He offered to place his hoard of four lacs of rupees, which he had kept in the fort of Rohtas at the disposal of his confederates if his advice were taken. He confidently hoped to raise ten or twelve thousand Mughal horse, and to entrench themselves strongly at Kabul or to attempt a successful coup de main on India,³ Kabul being the base for the conquest of India of Babar, Humayun and all successful invaders of India.

Abdur Rahim stopped at Lahore but the Prince and Hussain Beg Badakhshi crossed the river Ravi on their way to the fort of Rohtas.

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1. Ain-i-akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP.425-430
Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, PP.64-65
 2. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, PP.64-65
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Text, P.11
Maasir-ut-Tamim-Vol.I, Beveridge, P.251
 3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I R&B, PP.64-65
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Text, PP.13-14

Raja Basu¹ a trustworthy chief of Mau² was asked by Jahangir to pursue the prince and to capture him. Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali Akbar were also appointed to help the Raja with a large force³. The ferries all over the rivers of the Panjab, had been forbidden to frequent without proper check long before Khusrau's defeat at Bhairawal so that the rebels may not escape after their defeat. Warning had been given to all the 'Jagirdars' and the Superintendents of roads, crossings and ferries. Hussain Beg wished to convey Khusrau across the river Chenab but at that time Kilan, son-in-law of Kamal Chaudhari of Sodhora⁴ arrived, and detected them. He cried out to the boatmen and warned them to be careful. Owing to the noise and uproar, the people of the neighbourhood gathered together. Kilan took oars from the boatmen and thus made the boat of no avail. Khusrau was captured by Abul Gasim Nankin, and the news of the capture of Khusrau was communicated to Jahangir, who at that time was encamped at Lahore in the garden of Mirza Kamran⁵.

On Thursday, April 29, 1606 in Mirza Kamran's garden at Lahore, the defeated rebel son, with hands tied and chains on his legs was conducted to the presence of the Emperor. Hussain Beg Badakhshi stood on his right, while Abdur Rahim on his left, Khusrau stood weeping and trembling between them. The Emperor witnessed the scene seated in the royal pavillion built by his father. To punish the rebels, Jahangir says "I handed over Khusrau in chains and ordered those two villains to be put respectively in skins of an ox and an ass and that they should be mounted on asses with their faces to the tail and thus taken round the city."⁶ A bullock and an ass were slaughtered on the spot and

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP.369,495,508

2. Nurpur, 37 miles west of Dharmasala on the road to Pathankot.

History of the Panjab Hill States-H. & Vogel, P.225

Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Blochman, PP.369,495

3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, P.65

4. Sodhora is an ancient town, about five miles to the east of Nazirabad and lies on the Chenab River. (Quiranwala District Gazetteer, P.354)

5. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, P.68

Tabakat-i-Jahangiri-Text, PP.13-14

6. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, PP.69,73

orders of Jahangir were carried out to the letter. Horns and ears were¹ left on the skins of the two slaughtered animals."

As the hide of an ox dries more quickly than that of the skin of an ass, Hussain Beg Badakhshi remained alive for twelve hours but died² of suffocation after that. Abdur Rahim who was sewn in the ass's skin and to whom some refreshment from outside was also produced, remained³ alive. The culprit (Hussain Beg) died in most excruciating pain. "For good government I ordered posts to be set up on both sides of the road from Mirza Kamran's garden to the city, and ordered them to hang up and impale the seditious keen supporters and others who had taken part in the rebellion. Thus each of them received an extraordinary punishment. I gave headship to those Jagirdars who had shown loyalty and to every one of the Chaudharies between the Jhelum and the Chenab. I gave lands⁴ for their maintenance." Khusrau, deeply dejected, with tears and groans was slowly conducted on an elephant along the ghastly avenue and a mace bearer, with mock dignity calling out to him to receive the salutations of his followers. His life was spared, but he was kept in close⁵ confinement.

Jahangir considered Guru Arjan, guilty of supporting the rebel prince, who had bestowed benedictions on Khusrau while he was on his way from Agra to Lahore. Jahangir imposed on the Guru a fine of two lacs of rupees, which the latter refused to pay. The Guru was consequ-⁶ ently put to death. His sons and property were made over to Murtaza Khan (Shaikh Farid) the detail of which is given in the chapter to follow entitled "The Sikhs and the Great-Mughals."

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1. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, P. 68
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Text, P. 16
Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 1, PP. 56-57
 2. Ibid. PP. 68-69
 3. Iqbalnama-Vol. I, Mutamad Khan, Text, P. 17
 4. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, PP. 68-69
 5. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, PP. 67-70
The Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vol. VIII, No. 1, P. 57
 6. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, PP. 72-73
The Sikh Religion-Vol. II, Macauliffe, PP. 253-58
Transformation of Sikhism-Narang, PP. 31-41

There were two more Hindus, Raju and Amba who were also punished by the Emperor. Jahangir says, "Under the shadow of the protection of the eunuch, Daulat Khan, they made their livelihood by tyranny and committed many acts of oppression when Khusrau was near Lahore. "I ordered Raju to the gallows and a fine to be taken from Amba who was reputed to be wealthy. In short, 15,000 rupees were collected from him.¹

Shaikh Farid was given Bhairawal as a jagir, for his services. He was given the title of Murtza Khan. The Choudharies who had helped the Emperor were also given jagirs.²

THE END OF KHUSRAU:- Jahangir himself is completely silent about the matter in his memoirs, nor does the court historian, Motamad Khan refer to it. There can, however, be no doubt that the prince was blinded though not completely and irremediably. "The prince was blinded on the former battle field (Goindwal) by moistening his eyes with a certain juice resembling the sap of certain peas."³ "Still remaineth, still in prison in the King's palace, yet blind as all men report and was so commanded to be blinded by his father."⁴ William Finch, who travelled in 1610-11, reports two traditions current about the blinding. The Emperor, when he returned to the place where the battle was fought at Bhairawal (as some say) caused his eyes to be burnt out with a glass. Others say, only blind folded him with a napkin tying it behind and sealing it with his own seal, which yet remaineth, and himself prisoner in the castle of Agra. He learnt that Khusrau's eyes were sewn up, but that Jahangir caused them to be unripped again so that he was not blind⁵ ed but saw again and it was only a temporary penance." There was yet another myth to the effect that Katories (small cups) were fastened on the eyes so that the prince, when these were taken off, could see again.

1. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, P. 73

2. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, P. 69

3. Father Hostens: Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, P. 56

4. The Hawkin's Voyages, P. 428

5. Parchas IV Dela Velle (Travels in India, Vol. I, P. 56)

Jahangir resumed his march and after a short stay at Lahore reached Agra on March 22, 1608. Khusrav was confined in the palace and was closely guarded, but Jahangir was inclined towards him and called the physicians to restore his sight. Hakim Sudra of Irab healed the vision of one of the eyes but that of the other was permanently shortened and never entirely cured.

Jahangir appointed Shaikh Farid Bokhari as the governor of the Panjab with the title of Murtza Khan, on 31st September, 1610 in place of Dilawar Khan. Jahangir wanted a strong and experienced man to govern the Panjab and that he found in Murtza Khan who governed the Panjab for six years. During his regime, plague, the most horrible disease broke out in Lahore in the first year of his governorship. The whole of the Panjab, the Subah of Sirhind and the Yamuna Doab were engulfed by the epidemic. Thousands of villages were badly affected by the disease which spread like a wild fire. Another important event of his time is the expedition of Kangra.

²
KANGRA EXPEDITION:- Tilok Chand was the Raja of Kangra when Jahangir ascended the throne. Among the Panjab Hill States at that time, it occupied a prominent position and being proud of its strong mountainous situation, the Raja did not submit to the Emperor. The fort of Kangra was well-protected by a number of mountain fastnesses and was regarded as one of the strongest forts of the Panjab. It was even then regarded as so old that no one could tell the year, when it was built.

³
Jahangir had commissioned Murtza Khan, the governor of the Panjab, to capture the fort. Raja Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu of the Nurpur State (Mau) was appointed as second-in-command to assist Murtza Khan. The Raja did not want that Kangra should be annexed to the Mughal

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 454-57

2. History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. I, H. & Vogel, PP. 107-111

3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, P. 148

Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 345-46, 455-56

4. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, P. 148

5. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, PP. 148-149

Empire. on the contrary he wished to fish in the troubled waters and during the operation he stood in the way of Murtza Khan who was just in sight of victory. Murtza Khan smelt the Raja's diplomacy and accordingly reported the matter to the Emperor, but Raja Suraj Mal had great influence on Prince Khurram and was too clever for Murtza Khan. He explained his position before the Prince and also accused Murtza Khan¹ of having certain personal interests. Thus, the matter was hushed up before it came to the notice of Jahangir. Not much after, Murtza Khan² died by a stroke of palsy, in 1616, at Pathankot, and the operation was suspended for the time being.

SADIQ KHAN - 1616-1624:- After the death of Murtza Khan, Sadiq Khan was appointed the governor of the Panjab in 1616. His Mansub was raised and he was also given an elephant. The conquest of Kangra took place in his time, though he did not play much part in the ultimate victory of the fort of Kangra. However, he was commissioned alongwith Khawaja Abdul Hasan, the Diwan, in 1622, to expedite the concentration of forces from all directions to Jandhar.³ The most important event in the history of the Panjab which occurred in his time, was the fall of the Kangra fort, which happened on account of mutual jealousies of the Rajput Chiefs of the Mughal Court and mainly due to the defection of Raja Suraj Mal of Nurpur,⁴ the details of which follow.

The return of Raja Suraj Mal from the Deccan in 1619 again prompted Jahangir to conquer Kangra. On the recommendation of Shah Jahan⁵ Raja Suraj Mal was given the supreme command of the expedition. Shah Quli Khan (Muhammad Taqi) was also sent with a large number of soldiers and Ahidis to help the Raja. Raja Suraj Mal, however, did not like that

1. Majlis-ul-Umra-Text, P. 247

2. Ibid. P. 319

3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I, R&B, PP. 233-34

History of Jahangir-Beni Prasad, PP. 297, 317, 353

4. The Oriental Biographical Dictionary, T.W. Beale, P. 228

5. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 45

any loyal servant of the Mughals should accompany him on this expedition, for his designs were to plunder the country and ^{not} to ¹ subdue it. He wanted to conquer the fort, but did not want to bring it within the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire. Under these circumstances, he did not care much about the reduction of the fort of Kangra.

²
Raja Bikramajit, who was a veteran and a loyal general, had already been sent to Kangra to besiege the fort after the recall of Shah Jahan. Jagat Singh, Suraj Mal's brother and his old rival, was recalled from Bengal by the Emperor and sent to join Bikramajit to accomplish the victory of Kangra. Raja Jagat Singh was promised the grant of his brother's territory provided he remained loyal to the court. Shah Jahan was appointed the over all incharge of this expedition. Abdul Aziz Koka was also sent to help him. Hearing about this well planned combination, Raja Suraj Mal was dis-heartened and had to change the idea of plundering the country. But he did not like to give way without ³ resistance.

After a little skirmish, Raja Suraj Mal ran away and passing ⁴ through Pathankot, came to the strong fort of Murpur and prepared to ⁵ give battle. But pursuing him dauntlessly Raja Bikramajit besieged the fort of Murpur and subdued it. Being hotly pursued, Suraj Mal had to fly to Targarh and from there to Chamba, for Bikramajit was at his heels and about one thousand soldiers of Suraj Mal had already been killed. When the news of the defeat of Raja Suraj Mal reached Jahangir he conferred great honour upon Raja Bikramajit and orders were also given to demolish the forts of Suraj Mal. Bikramajit returned to Murpur and

1. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.II, R&B, P. 56

2. The Oriental Biographical Dictionary-Beals, PP. 317-18

3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.II, R&B, P. 73

4. Once the capital of a Rajput State. It is situated at the foot of the hills; 22 miles from Gurdaspur. (The Land of the Five Rivers-D. Rose, P. 203)

5. The fort of 'Mau' was one of the strongest forts in those days, in that part of the country. (History of India-Vol.VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 520, 521)

conquered the forts of Hara, Pahari, Jentaha, Policetas, Surad and Jawali, all situated in the vicinity of Murpur.¹

REVOLT OF MADHO SINGH:- Madho Singh, the brother of Suraj Mal also rose² in rebellion but was subdued though with some difficulty. Raja Suraj Mal had taken refuge with the Raja of Chamba. Bikramajit sent orders to the Raja of Chamba to surrender Suraj Mal and his property. The Raja delayed the surrender and Bikramajit moved to fight against him. In the meantime, Suraj Mal, broken-hearted, fell prey to a fatal disease and³ died. Hearing this, Raja Bikramajit once again asked the Raja of Chamba to surrender the property of Raja Suraj Mal. Pressed as he was, he had to surrender unconditionally the entire property of Raja Suraj Mal including fourteen elephants and two hundred horses to Raja Bikramajit.

Now Bikramajit became the master of many forts. He established his own police stations in order to keep order and peace. The forts and the buildings erected by Raja Basu and Suraj Mal were razed to the ground. Jagat Singh, brother of the late Chief, was installed in his place and a rank of one thousand zat and five hundred swars was conferred on him on the understanding that he would co-operate with Raja Bikramajit in the conquest of Kangra.⁴ The loyal servants of the Emperor⁵ were given Jagirs in these parganas.

SIEGE OF KANGRA:- After subduing the state of Murpur, Raja Bikramajit concentrated his attention on the important project of conquering⁶ Kangra. The fort was besieged from all sides and all roads were closed,⁷ to prevent provisions being imported, and batteries were installed all around. The siege continued for four months. A breach was made in the

1. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 75

2. History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. I, H. & Vogel, P. 232

3. History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. I, H. & Vogel, P. 520

4. Masir-ul-Umera-Vol. I, Beveridge, PP. 413-14

5. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, P. 520

6. Ibid. P. 524

7. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 186

7. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 185

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 fort after a very furious attack. Hundreds of the besieged were killed. Starvation set in and no relief was possible from any quarter. The fort was captured on the 16th of November, 1620, and the Imperialists triumphantly entered the fort. 2 Abdul Azziz Khan Naqash Bandi, 3 was made the Faujdar of Kangra and his mansab was raised to two thousand personal and fifteen hundred horse.

The Emperor was very eager to pay visit to the newly conquered fort, often styled as impregnable. No Muslim sovereign of India, not even Akbar, could achieve what was accomplished by Jahangir. He visited the fort of Kangra in the company of a number of orthodox Muslim divines and the Chief Qazi. He ordered all ceremonies to be carried out according to Islamic law in order to mark the unprecedented victory. The Khutba was read in the name of Jahangir. A bull was slaughtered in the fort for the first time and an order was issued for a mosque to be built 4 within the fort.

This ritualistic display was uncalled for and unnecessary. It was a freak of Jahangir's mind and an isolated event which was by no means indicative of any change in the general policy of toleration followed by him. Jahangir then visited Durga temple of Kangra and Jawala Mukhi. a royal building was ordered to be constructed there. The next place that was visited by Jahangir at that occasion was Koh-i-Nadar or the hill which was used as the churn for gods. Next day Jahangir left for 5 Lahore.

ASAUF KHAN - 1624-1628:- Asaf Khan, Yumin-ud-Dowla, brother of Nur Jahan was appointed the governor of the Panjab in 1624, in succession to

1. Fateh Kangra-Vol. V, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 525-26
2. Iqbalnama-Motamad Khan P. 120
3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 185
3. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 230
4. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Text, PP. 92-93
Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 223
5. Fateh-Kangra-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 524-27
5. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, R&B, P. 225

Sadiq Khan, who was appointed to conduct the operations in the Frontier Province. The Panjab prospered under the munificent administration of Asaf Khan, and his taste for architecture tended much to embellish Lahore city, but Jahangir's own end was near. Asaf Khan's last days were embittered by the treason of his sister, Nur Jahan. She began to concoct plans for usurping the empire and advancing the interests of her own son-in-law, Shaharyar, a good for nothing fellow, to the deprivation of Shah Jahan, the rightful heir to the throne. Shah Jahan's jagirs in Hissar and in the Doab were confiscated and made over to Shahar Yar and the Prince was told to select equivalent estate in the Deccan and Gujrat. This state of affairs drove the Panjab into revolts which remained an arena for strifes for about five-six years. The subsequent history of the Panjab under Asaf Khan is the coup de main of Mahabat Khan. The events of the coup de main are narrated in detail as under:

MAHABAT KHAN'S COUP DE MAIN:- Mahabat Khan was one of the most important nobles of Jahangir. An Afghan by birth, he held only a rank of 500 in the beginning of Jahangir's reign. He was rapidly promoted to higher ranks for rendering conspicuous services to the Emperor specially in suppressing the rebellion of Shah Jahan. But his success excited the jealousy of Nur Jahan and her brother Asaf Khan. Nur Jahan had been humiliating him very much, but the cup of his humiliation was filled to the over-flowing when his son-in-law Barkhurdar Khan was beaten and sent to prison. The dowry which Mahabat Khan had given to him was confiscated on the charge that the marriage was performed without the royal permission, in contravention of the existing custom. It was also strongly rumoured that Asaf Khan was planning the arrest of Mahabat Khan. Nur Jahan prevailed upon the Emperor to send for Mahabat Khan, to Lahore, where Jahangir was encamped. When the orders reached

1. q alnana-i-Jahangiri-Tex ,P.1

Empire of the Great Mughal-De Laet (Hoyland),P.222

Mahabat Khan in Behar, he realised that he was no more safe and he¹ became very desperate. He took five thousand selected Rajputs with him and left for Lahore to see the Emperor.

When Mahabat Khan arrived on the other side of the river, the Emperor on his way to Kabul, had just crossed the Chenab. He crossed the river against the royal order, not to cross it, and to leave his² men behind and to present himself to the court only with his household. Following the royal camp, Mahabat Khan looked for the opportunity to have audience with the Emperor.

One day when the imperial cortege had crossed over to the other side of the river Jhelum and the Emperor was yet on this side, Mahabat Khan forced his way to the Emperor and prostrating himself before him said "Being driven to despair and fearing utter disgrace from Asaf Khan he had thrown himself under the protection of the Emperor; if he found³ him unworthy of his service, he might put him to death." Jahangir was taken by surprise when he found that the camp was in the possession of Mahabat Khan's men. Mahabat Khan then suggested that if the Emperor was to ride out with him for a hunt, people would take that his action was quite according to the wishes and orders of His Majesty. The Emperor patiently agreed, and was taken to Mahabat's camp.

In the excitement of his extraordinary daring,⁴ Mahabat Khan neglected to take Nur Jahan into custody. When he realised his mistake he came back to the royal camp, but found that she had gone over to the⁵ other side with Prince Shahriyar, who were the main targets of his prey.

Nur Jahan was a lady of great sagacity and courage. The unusual

1. *History of the Mughal Empire* - De Lae, Hoy and, PP. 222-2

2. *History of the Mughal Empire* - Text, P. 176

3. *Empire of the Great Mughal* - De Laet (Hoyland), P. 223

3. *Itbarnama-i-Jahangiri* - Text, P. 176

4. *History of Jahangir* - Beni Prasad (1962), P. 371

4. *History of Jahangir* - Beni Prasad, P. 372

5. *History of India* - Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 420-424

5. *History of Hindustan* - Vol. I, Gladwin (1788), PP. 80-82

5. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* - Vol. I, Khafi Khan, P. 356

behaviour of an officer had certainly annoyed her, but the main problem before her was to rescue her husband without endangering his life and the dignity of the Crown. She summoned all the chief nobles, including Asaf Khan. Rebuking them for their negligence and mismanagement which had brought shame upon all, she commanded them to retrieve their honour by rescuing the Emperor. It was unanimously resolved by the council that next morning the whole army should be drawn out in embattled array, cross the river and attack Mahabat Khan.¹

When Jahangir came to know of this plan, he expressed his disapproval as it might lead to a bloody conflict and even endanger his life. But no heed was paid to his advice and the plan was executed in the morning of Sunday, the 11th March, 1626.² Nur Jahan herself mounted an elephant watched the movements of her soldiers. Unluckily, the ford which they selected for crossing was one of the worst of its kind and was at places quite deep. While attempting to ford the river all order was lost and confusion followed. The men of Mahabat Khan, who were holding the other bank of the river Jhelum, took advantage of it, and made a counter attack before the soldiers and officers were able to reach the land. The royalists were thrown in utter confusion and hopelessness; quite a large number of them were killed and many more were drowned. The elephant of Nur Jahan fled; Asaf Khan took to his heels and the royalist coup ended disastrously.³

Asaf Khan fled precipitately for his life and took shelter in the fort of Attock. Fida'i Khan, who had almost reached the camp of Jahangir, had to beat a retreat and seek protection in the fort of

1. - - - - -Text, PP. 180-181
2. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 423-424
Muntakhab-ul-Luhah-Vol. I, Khafi Khan, P. 386
History of Hindustan-Vol. I, Gladwin, PP. 81-82
3. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 425-426
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Text, PP. 182-183

Rohtas. The royalists having been scattered, further resistance was out of question. Nur Jahan, therefore, surrendered herself and was allowed¹ by Mahabat Khan to live with the Emperor.

With his mind at rest, Mahabat Khan sent his son Bihroz to Attock, and himself marched slowly towards Kabul in the train of the Emperor. Unable to defend the fort Asaf Khan offered submission and was placed in custody. Mahabat Khan moved on and reached Kabul in May, 1626, taking the Emperor, the Empress and the ex-minister with him. The life² at the Court seemed to be normal.

Mahabat Khan might have been afraid of dire consequences or swayed by high-handedness; he did not go beyond the limit of keeping their Majesties and Asaf Khan under reasonable watch. He did not meddle much with the administration, except probably in the appointment of a few supporters. He left almost complete freedom to the Emperor, who held darbars, received an embassy from Turan and went out for hunting. It seems that he had no greater ambition than the removal of the Emperor from the vicious influences of his opponents and reconciling him to his own interest. But Nur Jahan felt it beneath the dignity of the Crown to remain in a sort of tutelage to a "manasabdar". Nur Jahan tried to undermine his power and plotted with the dis-contented officer Yet Mahabat Khan did not at all interfere with her liberty to exhibit his temper.

Mahabat Khan's supremacy was now complete. He took charge of administration, appointed his own men to key positions and took steps to put down the partisans of Nur Jahan. After about two month's stay the Emperor proceeded to Kabul, reconciling himself outwardly to Mahabat's domination. The Imperial cortege resumed its march from

1. Iubalnama-i-Jahangiri-Text, P. 125
 Empire of the Great Moghal-De Laet (Hoyland), P. 227
 2. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, P. 428
Muntakhab-ul-Luhab-Vol. I, Khafi Khan, P. 373

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Attock and reached Kabul in May 1626.

Mur Jahan tried every possible method to shake off Mahabat Khan and deliver her brother from his custody. She found her opportunity in the growing unpopularity of Mahabat Khan, which was due not so much to his own abuse of power as to the influence which the Rajputs exercised over him and the jealousy of other officials. Mahabat Khan seems to have been singularly devoid of tact and sociability for, instead of securing sympathy and support for his cause, he was being rapidly isolated. Mahabat Khan was primarily a soldier and diplomat, but no statesman or even an administrator. His favourites mismanaged the affairs entrusted to them and caused resentment among the people. At Kabul there was a quarrel between his Rajput troops and a section of the royal force called the ² Jhads on the trifling question of grazing their horses and in the struggle that followed eight to nine hundred Rajputs were killed by the Muslim who staged a rising because of their disliking for the Hindu Rajputs. The incident though petty had far reaching consequences, for it ended in the death of several hundred best Rajput fighters in the service of Mahabat Khan, and made him more ³ unpopular.

It was about this time that news arrived that Shah Jahan had left the Deccan and was moving towards the capital. The Imperial camp, therefore, left Kabul for India and orders were given to raise fresh troops. This was the opportunity for Mur Jahan. She had already exploited the unpopularity of Mahabat Khan. By means of bribes and promises of favours she won a good number of officers to her side and raised troops which would stand by her. In Lahore a couple of thousand soldier were recruited in her name and instructions were issued to them to join

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1. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, p. 428
Ma'asir-ul-Umra-Vol. I, Beveridge, pp. 573-74
 2. History of Bahangir-Boni Prasad, pp. 380-383
 3. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, p. 428
History of Hindustan-Vol. I, Gladwin, pp. 84-85

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the Royal camp. Mahabat, however, did not show any sign of agitation or anxiety, for the Emperor had led him to believe that he was quite reconciled to him. Asaf Khan must have felt quite amused and satisfied with the developments which were in his favour though sponsored by his ¹ sister.

By the time the Imperial cortege reached Rohtas, Nur Jahan found her position strong enough to take the offensive, and the position of Mahabat proportionately weakened. The Emperor began by expressing his ² wish to hold a review of his cavalry and asking Mahabat not to come or bring his men lest some disturbance should arise. Shortly after, another order was issued that Mahabat Khan should move a stage ahead, which in plain language amounted to an order to leave the Royal camp.

The general, who felt the ground slipping under his feet, complied. On the pretence of reviewing the troops, Jahangir placed himself at the head of the Imperial army, and Mahabat Khan feeling that his domination was at end, left the place for Lahore. Thus Jahangir regained his liberty on the bank of the river Jhelum where he had lost ³ a few months before.

Mahabat fled precipitately towards Thatta, taking Asaf Khan and the sons of Daniyal with him. In doing this, Mahabat Khan had no designs except his personal safety, for as soon as he found himself at a distance from the Imperial camp, he allowed all of them to go back and join the Emperor. Thus ended the dramatic coup d'etat of Mahabat Khan of one hundred days. Asaf Khan was again free to sway the destinies of the empire, while the Empress had the satisfaction of freeing the Emperor and her brother. She did not quite realize that her confidence

1. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 429-30
Muntakhab-ul-Tuhaf-Vol. I, Khafi Khan, PP. 374-76
History of Miranpur-Vol. I, Gladwin, P. 36
2. History of Jahangir-Dani Prasad, P. 325
3. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, P. 430
History of Hindustan-Vol. I, Gladwin, PP. 36-37

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in her brother was utterly misplaced, and unwittingly she had sown trouble for herself.

The Imperial cortege arrived at Lahore, and the organization of the administration was taken in hand. The difficult task was entrusted to Asaf Khan, who was appointed wakil. He was also made governor of the Panjab with Abdul Hassan as his Dewan. Mir Jumla was appointed Bakhshi, being succeeded in the office of steward by Afzal Khan, who¹ had rendered valuable services during the recent troubles.

1. History of India-Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 42-31
 History of Hindustan-Vol. I, Gladwin, pp. 84-88
 Mirasir-ul-Uroq-Vol. I, Beveridge, p. 562

CHAPTER - V

SHAH JAHAN - 1627-1658

Lahore became the arena of the struggle between the rival claimants to the throne, which ensued on the death of Jahangir, who died on 17th October, 1627, at Chengiz Hatli near Bhimber, when Shah Jahan was still in the Deccan. Since his (Shah Jahan's) rebellion and defeat by Mahabat Khan, he had not returned to Agra. He had almost settled in the Deccan. We have narrated in the previous chapter the jealousy of the first magnitude between Nur Jahan and her brother Asaf Khan in order to capture the throne for their own candidates. After Jahangir's death, Nur Jahan immediately sent a secret message to Shaharyar, her son-in-law. She sent him post haste to Lahore, with as many troops as he could collect. Acting upon her advice Shaharyar hastened to Lahore to capture the throne.

The first act of Asaf Khan, on the other hand, was to send Banarsi Das to Shah Jahan, inform him of the situation at Lahore and urge upon him the desirability of reaching Lahore by rapid marches as time was a very important factor. A message was sent to Mahabat Khan also asking him to throw all his weight in favour of Shah Jahan.

The most momentous step taken by Asaf Khan was to place Prince Dawar Baksh, son of Khusrau, on the throne just to fill the vacuum caused by the death of Jahangir. "It was certainly an extremely politic move." The Prince was extremely unwilling to assume the

1. , E owson, P.
2. -Text, P. 394
3. -Abdu Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 5
Saxena (1962), P. 57

Imperial title, for he had a premonition of his tragic end, but he was not allowed to wriggle out. All sorts of assurances on sacred oaths were given to him by Asaf Khan and Iradat Khan.

Mur Jahan had been making almost frantic efforts to perpetuate her domination for a long time in anticipation of the crisis. So she decided to favour a candidate to the throne who was very docile and worthless. She did every thing to advance Shaharyar's cause and to bring him to prominence. But, unfortunately, just at the critical juncture he happened to be away from the scene. His absence marred his chance to a very large extent, because some of the wavering nobles, who might have sided with him, were easily won over by Mur Jahan's opponents.¹ Even then, Mur Jahan made a final bid to retain her power.

Asaf Khan and his party marched to Bhimber with Dawar Baksh at their head to take the possession of Jahangir's mortal remains. Nur Jahan had Dara, Shuja and Aurangzeb, three sons of Shah Jahan with her. With the assistance of Khawaja Abdul Hassain, Nur Jahan succeeded in removing the dead body of Jahangir to Lahore for burial.² Asaf Khan conciliated Sadiq Khan, the Mir Bakhshi, who was not favourably disposed to Shah Jahan and in order to assure him, Asaf Khan took three sons of Shah Jahan from Nur Jahan and placed them in the charge of Sadiq Khan and thus won the confidence of one of the most powerful generals. It was now fairly easy to deal with Nur Jahan, who was immediately put under strict surveillance by Asaf Khan.

Reaching Lahore, Shaharyar proclaimed himself Emperor. He seized the royal treasure and all the establishment of the government at Lahore. To win the favour of the soldiery and the nobles, he could think of no other plan, but by lavishing gold on them. Within a fort-

1. *Asaf Khan* - Text, Mutamid Khan, P. 294
Asaf Khan - to Asaf Khan - (1624-39), PP. 171-172
Asaf Khan - Sujjan Rai, Text (1918), P. 483
2. *Asaf Khan* - Mutamid Khan, Text, P. 299
Badshahnama - Mirza Asaf Khan, P. 114

night he distributed seventy lacs of rupees among the worthless nobles and improvised troopers. This was probably the only method that he could take recourse to, for his bald personality, weak character, lack of experience, inefficiency¹ and short sightedness might have scared away all the nobles. Under the command of Mirza Baisanghar, son of Daniyal he sent a force to deal with the pretensions of Asaf Khan and his puppet.

The rival forces met within three miles of Lahore. Asaf Khan rode on an elephant to show himself to his followers and to cheer them to fight. His troops, though not adequately equipped, consisted of experienced men who had seen many a battle. On the other hand, Shaharyar's army, hurriedly recruited, was no more than a rabble, most of whom had never heard the sound of a gun. On the very first charge they broke up and fled. When Shaharyar heard of the defeat of Baisanghar, in charge of Shaharyar's army, he retreated to the fort and closed the gates; but his doom was sealed.²

From the field of battle Asaf Khan moved towards the fort and established himself in the garden of Mahdi Qasim Khan. Access to the fort became easy, as Iradat Khan and Shaista Khan entered the fort at night and pitched their camp in the royal courtyard. In the morning they occupied the citadel and instituted a search for Shaharyar. He had concealed himself in the ladies apartments in the citadel, but was, on the following day, brought out by the eunuchs Firoz Khan and Khidmat Khan who were in league with Asaf Khan. They brought Shaharyar before Dawar Badshah, and compelled him to submit. He was ordered to be imprisoned and two days later, was blinded. Shortly afterwards Tahmura and Hoshang, sons of the drunken Daniyal who had espoused the cause of Shaharyar, were also put to death at Lahore.³

1. Tabalnema-i-Jahangiri-Mutanid Khan, Text, P. 299

Badshahnema-Mirza Asinai Qazvini, P. 114

Amal-i-Salch-Vol. I, Salch Kambo, Text, P. 210

2. Amal-i-Salha-Vol. I, Salha, PP. 211-212

3. Tabalnema-i-Jahangiri-Mutanid Khan, Text, PP. 296-97

Badshahnema-Mirza Asinai Qazvini, PP. 115-117

With the concurrence of Mir Bakhshi, Iradat Khan, Asaf Khan read¹ the Khutba in Shah Jahan's name on January 19, 1628. On the same day he consigned Dewar Bakhsh to prison. By this time Banarsi Das had delivered the communique of Asaf Khan to Shah Jahan regarding the defeat and imprisonment of Shaharyar and his supporters. Shah Jahan extolled the loyalty of Asaf Khan, congratulated him at his triumph, and with a view to test his sincerity and to get rid of possible rivals once for all, wrote him to execute Shaharyar and the sons of Daniyal. Asaf Khan was glad to carry out his wishes to the very spirit and letter which he immediately complied with.²

HAZIR KHAN - 1628-1637:³- At the time of Shah Jahan's accession, Khidmat Prasat Khan was appointed the governor of the Panjab in place of Asaf Khan, when the latter was called to Delhi by Shah Jahan and was promoted to the rank of the premier of the Mughal India. Asaf Khan was a strong man and he had well controlled the administration of this province, but Khidmat Prasat Khan was a weak man and, thus, could not keep hold over the Panjab. In 1628, Shah Jahan held his court at Lahore and appointed Hakim Ilam-ud-Din, whose title was Wazir Khan, the resident⁴ of Chiniot, as Governor of the Panjab. In the same year when the Emperor went to Lahore, Wazir Khan received him with all dignity. He offered⁵ to Shah Jahan one thousand golden coins, jewels, gold and silver utensils, rich stuffs, carpets, horses and camels valued at four lakhs of rupees. It was on this occasion that the rank of Najabat Khan, the military commander of the Fort of Kangra, was raised.

The Emperor again held his court at Lahore in 1631. Qandhar, which had been in possession of the Shah of Iran, since 1622, was

1. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Mutamid Khan, Text, P. 184

2. Amal-i-Salha-Vol. I, Salha Kambo, PP. 221-23

3. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri-Mutamid Khan, Text, PP. 301-302

Badshahnama-Aminia Qasvini, PP. 119-120

4. 82 miles from Jhang, Tahsil Headquarters of the same name in Jhang District.

5. Amal-i-Salha-Vol. III, Salha Kambo, Text, P. 395

surrendered to Wazir Khan by its governor Ali Mardan Khan, who severing his relations with the Shah came to Shah Jahan. Shah Quli Khan, Faujdar of Kangra and Bakhtiar Khan, Faujdar of Lakhi Jungle, paid their homage to the Emperor, in proportion to their ranks and dignity.

Wazir Khan governed for nine long years and during that period there did not occur any important event. He was known as the ablest governor during Shah Jahan's reign who gave peace and prosperity to the people. He was a great scholar of Arabic, Philosophy and Medicine. His accomplishments as a Physician had much attracted the Emperor and the royal princes.

ALI MARDAN KHAN - 1637-1644:- After the death of Wazir Khan, Ali Mardan Khan was appointed the governor, in 1637. According to Mirat-ul-Hind, Ali Mardan Khan was son of Ganj Ali Khan. He was the governor of Qandhar, appointed by Safwi King of Iran, but later he surrendered Qandhar to Shah Jahan in 1637, and joined the Court at Lahore, where he was made a grandee of the first grade. He managed the expedition well against Raja Jagat Singh of Muzpur details of which will follow. This expedition was continued for seven years and Ali Mardan Khan was the man to control the Frontier Province and to support the generals engaged against Raja Jagat Singh to subdue him. On account of his meritorious services and loyalty, he was made the governor of Kashmir in addition to the Panjab, in 1639. Shah Jahan was very much pleased with his administration and, thus, his mansab was increased to 7,000 personal and 7,000 horse. A sum of rupees one lakh was spent by Ali Mardan Khan for digging a canal from the village Rajpur, near Muzpur, to Lahore, a distance of 48 jarib kos. The canal was also to irrigate the suburbs of Lahore. He attracted universal admiration at the court with

1. Badshahnama-Vol.VIII, Elliot and Dowson, P.43

History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, PP.136,37,310-14

The Oriental and Biographical Dictionary-Beale, P.282

2. History of India-Vol.VII, Elliot and Dowson, P.57

3. Muzpur is 114 miles from Lahore, through Amritsar, but the direct distance from Muzpur to Lahore, is about 90 miles.

the construction of his other public works.¹

REBELLION OF RAJA JAGAT SINGH OF MURPUR:² Raja Basu, the founder of Murpur State was in the *good* books of Jahangir. On his death he was succeeded by his son Suraj Mall, but the latter proved treacherous to the imperial cause and was replaced by his brother Jagat Singh.³

In 1639, when Shah Jahan was at Lahore, he appointed Rajrup, the eldest son of Raja Jagat Singh, the Faujdar of the Shivalik Hill State to collect tribute, in his place. In the following year, when Shah Jahan was in Kashmir, Rajrup who had acted in concert with his father who was then in Bangash, rebelled and Jagat Singh, through friends at the court, put up a show of feigned dissatisfaction at the misconduct of his son. He requested the Emperor to relieve him of his duties in Bangash and bestow upon him the office of his son.⁴ This would give him an opportunity of punishing Rajrup, and of collecting tribute from the Hill Chiefs, valued at four lakhs of rupees. The Emperor accepted the offer, but Jagat Singh, contrary to the wishes of Shah Jahan fortified the fort of Taragarh, with a view to rebel against the Mughals. When the news of the rebellious conduct of Jagat Singh reached Shah Jahan,⁵ he appointed three corps to commence operations against Jagat Singh under the overall charge of Prince Murad Baksh.⁶

Murad Baksh now appointed Sa'id Khan, Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan to capture the fort of 'Mau', and himself remained behind to

1. The History of India-Elphinstone, P. 583

2. Ma'asir-ul-Umera-Vol. I, Shah Nawaz Khan, Text, P. 764

Amal-i-Salha-Vol. I, Salha Kambo, Text, P. 69

3. Ma'asir-ul-Umera-Vol. II, Shah Nawaz Khan, Text, PP. 176-79, 238-41

Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, RAB, PP. 54-57, 74-75

4. Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 144

5. I.A.S. of Bengal-(1875), P. 194

6. 12 miles north to Murpur (History of the Panjab Hill States-Vol. I, H. & Vogel, P. 237)

7. Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 239

History of Shah Jahan-Texana, P. 96

8. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal-1874, P. 194

Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, PP. 237-38

9. Mau (Maukot) was situated about half a way between Pathankot and Murpur on a ridge of low hills running to the east of the Chakki river. (Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 264)

collect supplies and to reinforce them. Khan Jahan left Raipur on the 29th August, 1641¹ in order to march by the Balhawan Pass on Murpur. At the foot of the pass he came upon Rajrup. Khan Jahan appointed Najabat Khan to engage Rajrup. The obstacles which had been set up at the foot of the pass, were forced through and Khan Jahan moved rapidly to Machh Bhawan.² The enemy had blocked the roads every where, but the natives showed the Imperialists the right path. By this way the army arrived at the summit of a hill about two miles from Murpur, on the 9th October, 1641.³ The houses outside the fort were given up to pillage, and Khan Jahan dug trenches and commenced the siege. Sa'id Khan had in the mean time marched by way of Mount Harah, and Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan⁴ along with valley of the Chakki River, and ~~both~~ met at 'Mau'.

Qulij Khan and Rustam Khan joined prince Murad at Pathankot, bringing orders from the court that Qulij Khan should march to 'Mau' and Rustam Khan should meet Khan Jahan stationed at Murpur. Reports in the meantime been received that the occupation of Rupar, which overlooks Mau, was necessary for the complete investment of 'Mau'. Prince Murad Bakhsh directed Sa'id Khan to occupy first the fort of Rupar. It was further directed that a portion of the troops at Murpur under Najabat Khan should join Sa'id Khan, who marched along the Murpur Pass as previously directed and halted in the neighbourhood of the 'Mau' mountain on the road to Rupar.⁵ Sa'id Khan reached Rupar the next day.⁶ Sa'id Khan advanced slowly clearing the jungle; and a force under Najabat Khan arrived in the neighbourhood of the Raja Basu's garden.⁷ The Rajputs were attacked all of a sudden from one side by Zulfaqar vi

1. -Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, PP. 233-244. It is situated at 16 miles on Pathankot towards the east. (Arzdasht-Qasvini Shaikh Jalal Hissari, PP. 30, 34)
2. Badshahnama-Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 262
3. Amal-i-Salha-Vol. II, Salha Kambo, PP. 343-51
4. It divides the district of Gurdaspur from Kangra as far as Dhangu.
5. History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, P. 96
6. Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 236
7. History of the Panjab Hill States-Vol. I, H. & Vogel, P. 23
7. Amal-i-Salha-Vol. II, Salha Kambo, PP. 456-62

the Imperial artillery and from the other by Nazar Bahadur Khweshgi.
Both the sides suffered heavy losses in this fight.

Man Singh of Guler sent about one hundred men to surprise the fort of Chhat during the night who killed many Rajputs. Among those killed was the commander of the fort. A portion of the fort of Chhat was, thus, occupied by the men of Man Singh.

On the following day, a bastion of the Fort of Nurpur which Khan Jahan had besieged, was blown up. Only one side of the bastion blew up whilst the other sank to the ground. The besieged had erected a wall behind each bastion, which was joined with both ends to the outer wall of the Fort. This wall behind the blown up bastion, remained intact and actually no breach was affected; and Sayyid Lutf Ali and Jalal-ud-din Mahmud, who had rushed forward with Khan Jahan's men, found the way closed and got the walls to be thrown down. But unfortunately it got dark and the storming party had to retire.

Bahadur Khan was ordered by the Emperor who was then at Lahore, to move from Islampur to Pathankot where Murad Baksh was waiting for him with three thousand horse and the same number of foot soldiers. On

1. - O . I , A u F , e , P .
2. One of the Zails' headquarters of Nurpur Tehsil, in Kangra District.
3. Jagat Singh had long been preparing for this emergency and had strengthened the three principal forts in his territory, viz., Mau, Nurpur and Taragarh, and more in their neighbourhood and furnished them with all available weapons of war. Mau was nearest the plains, being situated a little more than half way from Pathankot to Nurpur, on the summit of the range of low hills running to the east of the river Chakki. It was really a fortified enclosure with dense jungle all round it, and was a place of great strength. Few vestiges of the fortifications now remain, as it was completely demolished under the order of Shah Jahan. The Nurpur Fort, of which the massive ruins may still be seen, stands to the south-west of the town and had deep ravines on three sides. The main entrance was to the north. Taragarh which is twelve miles north of Nurpur, was built by Jagat Singh about 1625-30, as a refuge for an evil day. It was a fortified hill of a conical shape, rising to 4,230 feet with deep ravines all around it. On it there were three forts one above the other, the highest crowning the summit of the hill which is clearly visible from Bakloh.
4. History of the Panjab Hill States-Vol. I, H. & Vogel, P. 237
History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, P. 99
5. Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, PP. 263-64
6. Ana-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Salha Kambo, Text, PP. 460-70

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23rd November, 1641, 'Dantal' was taken by Bahadur Khan and 'Tihari' by Allah Virdi Khan. The Emperor also sent orders that Asalat Khan should hasten to Murpur and take part in the siege; and Sayyid Khan Jahan, Rustam Khan and others together with Bahadur Khan as vanguard should attack 'Mau' by way of Gangthal. If 'Mau' was conquered, it would be easier to reduce Murpur. The Prince should leave Rao Amar Singh and Mirza Husain Safawi in Pathankot and march upon 'Mau' and encamp in the Balwahan pass.

When the Prince moved from Pathankot for 'Mau' Jagat Singh became doubtful of his success, and requested Allah Virdi Khan to beg the prince to allow his son Rajrup an interview but out of envy Allah Virdi Khan forced the war on him. The prince had now himself come and he agreed to Jagat Singh's men being sent to him to settle the affairs. Rajrup appeared before the Prince, who promised to intercede on Jagat Singh's behalf with Shah Jahan. But the Emperor, to whom the Prince sent a report on the 28th November, 1641, demanded an unconditional surrender.

Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan were now sent by the Prince over Gangthal to 'Mau'. When they reached 'Mau', Jagat Singh engaged them in sharp encounters for five days. During these five days no less than seven hundred men of Bahadur Khan's contingent were killed and wounded and the same number of the Rajputs. It was a bloody fight which is known up to this day as "The Mau expedition, friends, is a call to death." Jagat Singh fled in this battle.

Prithi Chand was ordered by the Prince to return to Chamba, and to occupy a hill near the Fort of Taragarh, the possession of which was

1. Badshahnama-Vol.II, Text, Abdul Hamid Lahori, P. 256
4 miles from Pathankot on Pathankot-Hoshiarpur Road.
2. Asal-i-Salha-Vol.II, Salha Kambo, PP. 352-55
Badshahnama-Vol.II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, PP. 269-70
3. "Mau ki mahim, Yaro ! mau ki nishani hai."
4. History of the Panjab Hill States-H. & Vogel, P. 237
Badshahnama-Vol.II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 272
5. Taragarh is 12 miles north of Murpur within the Chamba State and was built by Raja Jagat Singh in 1625-30 as a refuge for evil days.
History of the Panjab Hill States-Vol.I, H. & Vogel, P. 337
Badshahnama-Vol.II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 274

necessary before Murpur could be taken. In fact it belonged to Chamka¹ but Jagat Singh had taken it by force.

The Prince reached Murpur with Sayyid Khan Jahan and sent him Jammu on 27th December, 1651, Bahadur Khan and Assalat Khan with near two thousand horse were sent to Taragarh. Raja Man Singh of Guler, the sworn enemy of Jagat Singh, joined Prithi Chand, in order to attack Taragarh from the rear. Jagat Singh, seeing that he was vigorously attacked from all sides requested Sayyid Khan Jahan to intercede for him with the Prince. The Prince at the intercession of Khan Jahan, recommended him to the mercy of the Emperor under the terms that "Taragarh" was to be handed over to the imperialists, and was to be destroyed, with the exception of certain houses which at Jagat Singh's request were to be left as dwelling places for his servants and as store houses for his property. The fortifications of 'Mau' and 'Murpur' were likewise to be levelled. This was accepted by Jagat Singh.

Jagat Singh paid his respects to the Prince on Thursday evening 11th March, 1642. Najabat Khan was ordered to make settlement for the whole district. Bahadur Khan and Assalat Khan were left in Murpur to dismantle the bastions, and the Prince with Sayyid Khan Jahan and Jagat Singh together with his sons, went to the court to appear before the Emperor. Raja Jagat Singh and his son, who were given royal pardon were reappointed to their former ranks and offices on the 10th April, 1642.

Various circumstances had compelled Jagat Singh to raise the standard of revolt. He noticed a cold indifference on the part of the Emperor towards him. His distinguished services to the crown brought to him no appreciation and honour and got frustrated. He could also hardly meet the pressing demands of the government with his meagre

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1. History of the Panjab Hill States-Vol. II, H. & Vogel, P. 204
 2. Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, P. 272
 3. History of the Hill States, Vol. II, H. & Vogel, P. 237
 4. Badshahnama-Vol. II, Text, Abdul Hamid Lahori, P. 269
 5. History of the Panjab Hill States-Vol. II, H. & Vogel, P. 249

resources, his 'jagir' being rocky and barren. His snatching of a part of the territories of the Raja of Chamba and the building of the fort of Taragarh in it, displeased the Emperor who regarded the existence of a recalcitrant chief on the way to Kashmir as dangerous.

Abid Khan whose title was Gulich Khan (1644-1647) was made the governor in succession to Ali Mardan Khan. During his governorship, the Mughal forces remained engaged in the Frontier Province and he reinforced the army engaged in the Balakh and Badakhshan campaign. We do not get much material about him as regards his other activities, with particular reference to this province. He died in 1654, and was succeeded by Jafar Khan.

Jafar Khan was appointed the governor in succession to Gulich Khan in 1647. He was known far and wide for his good nature and humanitarianism among all. He was just, loyal, talented and popular being a fine administrator.

Shah Jahan suddenly fell ill on September 6, 1657. He was compelled to remain confined to his bed-chamber and he discontinued coming to the court. His removal from the public gaze was regarded with great misapprehensions by the princes and gave rise to wildest speculations.

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1. The Oriental Biographical Dictionary-Beale, P. 146
History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, PP. 64, 191-96, 227-33
 2. Mala'sir-ul-Umera-Vol. I, Shah Nawaz Khan, P. 632
 3. The Oriental Biographical Dictionary-Beale, P. 126
Mala'sir-ul-Umera-Vol. I, Shah Nawaz Khan, P. 534

CHAPTER - VI

AURANGZEB - 1658-1707

It was a tragedy of the Mughal monarchy that the dying eyes of the father should witness the rebellion of the son. Believing that his death was approaching, Shah Jahan had executed his will bequeathing the Empire to his eldest son Dara Shikoh, who was called upon to conduct the administration in the name of the Emperor during the latter's illness. At the time of Shah Jahan's illness Dara Shikoh was the governor of the Panjab, Shuja of Bengal, Aurangzeb of the Deccan and Murad of Gujrat. Shuja, the second son was the first to declare his independence. Aurangzeb and Murad alligned with the set intention to overthrow Dara Shikoh. Raja Jaswant Singh's force sent by Dara from Delhi opposed them at Allahabad and forced him to retreat to Bengal. Qazim Khan with a large army was sent to check the advance of the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Murad, but he could not withstand the onslaught of these combined forces even though Raja Jaswant Singh had reinforced Qazim Khan at Dharmat on 15th April, 1658 after defeating Shuja. The victorious army proceeded towards Agra, while Dara collected all his available troops at the instance of Shah Jahan and met his brothers at Samugarh, which proved the decisive battle where Dara himself faced the army of Aurangzeb and Murad. Aurangzeb proved a better general and Dara was defeated on 29th May, 1658. Both the victorious brothers marched to Agra and a few days after the victory at Samugarh they siezed the fort of Agra on 8th June, 1658. Sick and old Shah Jahan was taken prisoner. Leaving Shaista Khan incharge of Agra, Aurangzeb moved towards Delhi in pursuit of Dara who had escaped towards the Panjab.

The retreat of Dara Shikoh from Agra made Aurangzeb the master

of the Indian Empire. After his defeat at Samugarh, Dara Shikoh at once had resolved to fly from Delhi to the Panjab which province had for been his viceroyalty and was then held by his faithful deputy, Sayyid Ghairat Khan.¹ Lahore fort contained much of his property, as well as one crore of rupees in the Imperial Treasury, and a vast arsenal and magazine. He had also much influence in the Panjab on account of his position as viceroy. He was particularly friendly to Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru. The Panjab was the home of soldiers, and close to the Afghan border where the hardest mercenaries could be enlisted. Under these circumstances he had already instructed his Lahore agent to raise troops and collect guns. He wrote to every quarter of this martial province inviting the tribes to enlist and sent robes of honour to the chiefs and faujdars of the Panjab, Multan and Thatta, and to the troops near Peshawar,² inviting them to join him.

After a week's halt, on 12th June, 1658, with an army of ten thousand men, Dara Shikoh reached Sirhind, where he seized the property of the revenue collector and dug out twelve Lakhs of rupees which the officer had buried underground before his flight. After crossing the Satluj, he destroyed all the boats found at the ferries within his reach, in order to hinder the passage of the pursuing army of Aurangzeb. He reached Lahore on 3rd July, 1658.

Reaching Lahore, Dara Shikoh opened the rich imperial treasury and began to distribute money lavishly among his soldiers. In a short time twenty thousand men were recruited. Some imperial commanders such as Raja Rajrup,³ the chief of Muzpur and Khanjar Khan,⁴ Faujdar of Bhera⁵

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-Saxena, P.

2 - a na, F.130-36

-Abil Khan Razi, (1946), PP.35-36

3. o II, P.277

4. e was a great general of Shah Jahan, who had defeated Nizam Muhammad at the time of his conquest of Kabul (History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, P.134)

5. Travels F. Burnier, P.70. Situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, 11 miles from Mian.

and Khushab also joined him. Dara secretly wrote to Aurangzeb's officers¹ and to the Rajputs inciting them to rebel against Aurangzeb, but all in vain.

On the bank of the Satluj, at the ferry of Talwan,² he had left his chief general Daud Khan³ to oppose the enemy at the crossing of the river. He also sent to him reinforcements of five thousand troops with artillery from Lahore. A second party under Sayyid Chairat Khan⁴ and Musahib Beg *was* asked to guard the ferry at Rupar. Dara Shikoh also then urged Shuja to make a diversion against Aurangzeb in the east and promised a partition of the Empire with him, after the fall of their common foe; Shuja was now too poor to respond to Dara Shikoh.

Dara Shikoh had hoped that the exhaustion of Aurangzeb's army after their long march from the Deccan and two severe battles fought in succession, the heavy rainfall of monsoons, and the many rivers and miry roads of the Panjab would prevent Aurangzeb from pursuing him. He hoped to get a long respite at Lahore for fortifying himself in that city and rendering it the rendezvous for his friends and adherents.⁵

Aurangzeb, after a hurried coronation ceremony in Delhi started towards the Panjab in pursuit of Dara. He took every step to expedite the pursuit and to leave Dara no time to recoup his power. He made his naval department construct portable boats which were sent on wagons on to the ferries of the rivers.⁶

Bahadur Khan hastened to the ferry of Talwan. He found that the opposite bank of the Satluj was very strongly guarded by Daud Khan, the trusted general of Dara Shikoh. Bahadur Khan, then, guided by some friendly Zamindars, had to rush to the ferry at Rupar, sixty miles

1. ~~Aurangzeb~~ ^{US. Patna, Lib. FF. 142-43}

~~Storia do-Mogor, Vol. I, Mamucci, P. 310~~

2. Talwan is a village in Phillaur Tehsil, District Jullundur, on the up lands of the Satluj, Ibid. PP. 143-150.

3. A loyal general of Dara Shikoh. (History of Shah Jahan, Saxena, P. 333)

4. "Izzat Khan" says ~~Aurangzeb~~.

5. ~~Storia do-Mogor~~ ^{Vol. I, Mamucci, P. 313}

6. ~~Aurangzeb~~ ^{Patna Lib., FF. 160-165}

~~Ibid. P. 164~~

upstream from the ferry of Talwan to cross the Satluj. Bahadur Khan defeated Chhairat Khan and Musahib Beg and with the help of boats, crossed¹ the Satluj on the night of 4th August, 1658. Daud Khan, hearing the news of the disaster of Rupar retreated towards Sultanpur.

Another division of Aurangzeb's forces, under Khalil Ullah Khan² who was later appointed the Governor of the Panjab by Aurangzeb, made a forced march to the Rupar ferry to reinforce Bahadur Khan. Bahadur Khan was further ordered by Aurangzeb to give battle to the enemy if the conditions became favourable. Daud Khan accordingly, retreated to the ferry of Goindwal, but found that Bahadur Khan's forces had already been joined by Khalil Ullah Khan's. Daud Khan did not think it advisable to risk a battle against such heavy odds.

Aurangzeb himself reached the Satluj at Rupar to ascertain if road to the Beas was clear. He sent off Jai Singh and Daler Khan with³ the artillery under Safshikan Khan to join Khalil Ullah Khan. Aurangzeb⁴ reached Garh Shanker on the 18th of August, 1658.

Many of Dara's treacherous officers began to desert him to join Aurangzeb's army. Dara Shikoh was much disappointed. Most of the freshly recruited troops abandoned the losing side and began to join the imperial forces. Aurangzeb was sending letters full of temptation to Dara Shikoh's officers and succeeded in seducing many of them, such as⁵ Raja Rajrup, Khanjar Khan and some others. He wrote a letter to Daud Khan the bravest and the trusted officer of Dara, and contrived for it to be intercepted by Dara Shikoh's patrols. Every word of the letter was false, because faithful Daud Khan had never corresponded with⁶

1. Aurangnama-Pa na, Li ., .1 3

2. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri-Muhammad Saqi, Sarkar, P.8

3. Title of Muhammad Tahir, a noble-man of the rank of 300, who served under the Emperor Alamgir and died in 1678 A.D. (The Oriental Biographical Dictionary-Beale, P.230)

4. Tahsil headquarters in Hoshiarpur District, situated at the distance of 35 miles to the south-east.

5. Aurangnama-Patna Lib., FF.181-182

6. Aurangnama-Patna Lib., FF.175-180

Aurangzeb.

The future grew absolutely dark for Dara Shikoh who read the forged letter and he sank into grief. He now became over suspicious recalled Siphir Shikoh, his second son, from the side of the ferry of Daud Khan who was defending the Beas river. "Daud Khan, on returning to his master found him a changed man, ever turning a clouded face and casting suspicious glances at him. Full co-operation between the prince and his chief lieutenant ceased."¹

The might of Aurangzeb was reinforced by the four high generals of Aurangzeb, namely Bahadur Khan, Khalil Ullah Khan, Daler Khan and Jai Singh, armed with Saf Shikan Khan's artillery. Dara left Lahore,² with his family and all the treasurers of the fort, guns and artillery; loading most of them in boats and on animal transport, he hastened to Multan. Siphir Shikoh by forced marches from Goidwal joined him outside Lahore, and so did Daud Khan. Nearly 4,000 troops accompanied Dara Shikoh.³

Hearing this, Aurangzeb decided to lead the chase of his brother Dara Shikoh in person. He turned south-west towards Multan with the pick of his soldiery, making forced marches of 14 to 22 miles a day by way of Qasur and Shergarh.⁴ He reached Mamanpur on the 17th and there⁵ got the news that Dara Shikoh had fled from Multan southwards to Bhakkar,⁶ and that even there he was betrayed by his own men. Therefore, Aurangzeb did not find it necessary to go further to tax the endurance of his men and animals. He henceforth travelled shorter stages but Saf-Shikan Khan with six thousand men was ordered to push on after Dara

2. Amounting more than one crore of rupees. (Alauddin Masum, Calcutta Ed. P. 188)

3. Aurangnama-Patna Lib., FF. 186-88

Maqalat-i-Aurangzeb-Aqil Khan Razi, P. 73

4. South-eastern Tehsil of Lahore, situated on the north bank of the Satlej.

5. 10 miles from Satgarh railway station towards the south-east.

6. Perhaps Mamanpur, 4 miles towards Marappa.

7. Aurangnama-Patna Lib., FF. 201-303

Shikoh beyond Multan and expel him from the Panjab. Khalil Ullah was ordered to stay in Multan till the Emperor's arrival. Aurangzeb reached Multan and paid his respects to the Mausoleum of Saint Shaikh Baha-ud-Din where he made an offering of Rs.1,000.

Seeing all safe on this side, Aurangzeb with his whole army, reached Lahore in 1659. He put in at the garden of Faiz Bakhsh, on the road to Delhi. The following day, he was visited in state by Prince Muhammad Azim from the city, who was accompanied by Muhammad Amin Khan Mir Bakhsh¹ and other officers of the State and in company with the prince inspected the fort. On his way back to the gardens of Farah Bakhsh, Aurangzeb said prayers in the Mosque of Wazir Khan with the congregation.

Khalil Ullah Khan was appointed the governor² of Lahore and was heavily rewarded for the services rendered by him.

Aurangzeb again visited Lahore in 1661 and said the Friday prayers in the Mosque of Feroze Khan on the outskirts of the citadel³ and it was proclaimed that on all Fridays the congregations should perform their prayers. During that stay a sum of Rs.30,000 was distributed to the poor, through Abid Khan, Sadar-ul-Sadur.⁴ A grand entertainment was arranged for the Emperor in the garden of Dilkusha, across the Ravi.

Aurangzeb again came to the Panjab in 1668-69 when he visited Hasan Abdul⁵ and some other places of the frontier. On his way back to Delhi, he halted at Lahore for a few days in the garden of Dilkusha⁶ where he was met by the governor of Lahore, Ibrahim Khan. A grand Darbar was held in the Shah Burj. The courtiers were honoured with

1. Alangirnama-Calcutta Ed. P.214

2. Lahore-Muhammad Latif, P.65

3. Close to the Hattiapul gate in Lahore.

4. Alangirnama-Muhammad Kazim, Text, P.167

5. Situated on the top of a steep hill. It is known to the Sikhs as Panja Sahib in consequence of the mark of the hand of Guru Nanak.

6. Alangirnama-Mohd. Qazim, Text, P.833

dresses, among them being Ibrahim Khan, Governor of Lahore, Haji Muhammad Takir Qiladar, Feroz Khan Faujdar of Dipalpur, and Amir Khan, Governor of Kabul.

Aurangzeb governed this province by appointing his own men as the governors. He was a pastmaster in diplomacy and, thus, always appointed the trusted, strong and experienced generals to these high posts. He appointed them for a very limited period during which time, Aurangzeb could not be beaten by any kind of intrigue or secret manipulation. The full list of the governors of Aurangzeb is given in Appendix 'A'.

CHAPTER - VII

THE SIKHS - 1526-1707

It is Panjab's misfortune that none of the Sikh Gurus was directly interested in writing the history of their times. The references available in the Sikh records are mostly incidental and form secondary sources. Had the Gurus taken up their pen to write a history of their relations with the Great Mughals, they would not have omitted to lay before the world the correct side of the picture. Such a picture would have exposed the corruption and treachery of the Panjab governors, confusion and disorder of every kind that was rampant all over the province and the cruelty, extravagance, vices and the profligacy being practised freely. It would have been recorded how murder, plunder, robbery and debauchery were the order of the day and finally how, honour, justice and position were sold and bought with slavish pride and joy. The Gurus seemingly ignored all this with contempt and kept themselves busy with the task of reforming society. Probably they did not want to corrupt their pen and tongue by writing and speaking about corrupt things which filled the very air with licentiousness and pollution of the most shocking character. The writer, therefore, gives, below a brief picture of the relations between the Sikhs and the Great Mughals from the scanty sources available.

GURU NANAK - 1469-1539:- Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh

religion, was born in November, 1469, at Talwandi Rai Bhoi, now called Nankana Sahib, in the District of Shaikhupura (West Pakistan). His father, Mehta Kalu, was a Patwari of the same village.

After finishing his education in the three R's he studied Persian and the conventional Islamic literature from Saiyid Nana. His brother-in-law, Jai Ram, secured for him the job of a storekeeper of a state granary at Sultanpur. His interest in spiritual and religious quest led him to give up the service at the age of twenty-seven in spite of the fact that he had two sons and two daughters to look after. He travelled far and wide, from Assam and Dacca to Baghdad, and from Tibet and Orissa to Ceylon, and had personal contact with saints and 'faqirs' and watched critically their faiths, beliefs, manners, and morals. It is alleged that he was much influenced by a saint named Murad Shaikh Sharaf Shaikh Bahauddin, and the teachings of Kabir. It is, however, doubtful if he had any formal initiation, for he says that his guru was God. The sack of Saidpur (Eminabad) in Gujranwala District) and the massacre of its inhabitants in 1531 by the order of Babar, who 'like a ravenous lion fell upon a herd of cows', produced a powerful impression upon his mind. On that occasion he is said to have been arrested but later on released. In his old age he settled down as a farmer at Kartarpur, a small village in Sialkote District.

At the time of Nanak's birth, the social, political, economic

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1. Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh-Gujan Rai-Text, 1918, P. 49
Nanak Parkash-Vol. I, Santokh Singh, P. 149
Prachin Panth Parkash-Rattan Singh Bhango, P. 8
History of the Sikhs-Cunningham, P. 35
The Sikh Religion-Vol. I, Macauliffe, P. 1
The Sikhs-Archer, P. 65
Janan Sakhi-Bhai Bala, P. 5
Dabistan-i-Mazahbi-Text, P. 223
 2. It was a small village then situated on the river Ravi, 35 miles south-west of Lahore, in the Sharakpur Sub-division of the Lahore District (Later Mughals-Vol. I, Irvine, P. 73)
History of the Sikhs-Cunningham, P. 37
Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh-Gujan Rai-Text, (1918), P. 69
 3. Nanak Parkash-Bhai Santokh Singh, P. 146

and religious condition of the people of the Panjab, nay of the whole of India, was chaotic. Apart from the invading hordes, whose main object was destruction, massacre and plunder the six dynasties which had established themselves one after the other in India for nearly three centuries (1206-1526) could not maintain peace in the country. The invasions of Changiz Khan and Timur added fuel to the fire and tremendously increased the miseries of the people. Almost all the Muslim rulers were fierce bigots. Hordes of lawless Turks had overrun the country. The people of the Panjab were helpless against those usurpers who divided political power amongst themselves. Under such conditions the honour of no man or woman was safe. The so called Imperial Government at Delhi was powerless, even if it desired to check the misdeeds of those desperados. Besides, it was itself so much disrupted by internal jealousies and intrigues that it had little time and inclination to exercise any control over them. The annals of this period constitute the darkest period of Indian History. Nanak has described what he saw with his own eyes, in Var Majh:

"Kings are butchers, cruelty their knife
Sense of duty has taken wings and vanished.
Falsity prevails like the darkness of the darkest night.
The moon of truth is visible nowhere." 1

The indigenous population of the country on the other hand was hopelessly divided in itself. Hindus did not associate with the Hindus. In consequence of the rigidity of the caste system, under the influence of the Brahmanic revival that had turned Buddhism out of India, it had become a horrible sin for Shudras even to hear a Vedic hymn. It is aptly said "Political lawlessness, social confusion, religious corruption, moral degradation and spiritual slavery were the order of the day. In spite of the periodic appearance of prophets

1.

2.

-Sewa Ram S . .

and reformers, who had set high ideals before mankind, the brute in man had still predominated. "The galaxy of saints, which appeared in the country a few years before his birth, were obviously the precursors of the Master who came down to warn people against their iniquitous lives, and proclaim the advent of the new Spirit."¹

The invasion of Babar and the launching of Nanak's reform movement just happened about the same time. It was the disintegrating state of the Delhi Sultanate and the political intrigues of the court of Delhi during these years that had whetted Babar's ambition and made it easy for him to occupy India.

Nanak was a reformer like Kabir with more restraint and dignity of expression. He was utterly dissatisfied with the social and political conditions of the country. He condemned the mimicry, Hypocrisy, baseness and poltroonery of the people and deplored the degeneration that had set in among his countrymen.

The man eaters say the (five) prayers:

And they who wielded the knife wear the sacred thread.

And in their homes do the Brahmins blow the conch,

Yea, they too relish the same tastes,

False is their stock, yea, false their trade,

And Falsehood fill their bellies, they,

The sense of shame and honour from them is far removed,

For, Nanak, its falsehood that filleth them all.

On their foreheads is the saffron-mark and their loin
girt by Dhotis folds;

But in their hands is the knife, yea, they are the
butchers of the world.

They seek approval of the Muslim Rulers by wearing blue,²

And worship the Puranas succoured by barbarian's food.

The social aspect of Nanak's religious thought is well reflect-

1. The Divine Master-Sewa Ram Singh, PP. 1 17
Also read Asa Mahala-IV Chhand(6)-4. Adi Granth
2. Adi Granth, P. 472

ed in his sayings. "He who looks on all men and women as equals is religious", and "Abide pure amid the impurities of the world." He raised the status of woman almost to the level of man. Inter-dining was instituted to break the rigour of the caste system. Wine and por were prohibited. He repudiated polytheism, idol worship and belief incarnation of God, denied the validity of the caste system, of myth logical beings of formal rituals and ceremonials. Instead, he laid emphasis on moral virtues. He did not recognise any basic difference between Hindus and Musalmans since all were children of God.

Nanak came in contact with the first Mughal Emperor, Babar, for the first time in 1520-1521, when the latter crossed into India. At first he reduced Bhera and then marched on Sialkot. Everywhere th people found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. If they submitted to Babar and supplied him with provisions they exposed th selves to the wrath of the Sultan of Delhi after the return of Babar and if they did not submit to Babar, he would kill them, plunder their homes and take away their women and children as slaves. Thus, the people chose the lesser evil and submitted to Babar to save them selves. But here again they were gravely disillusioned because they could save little from Babar's lascivious army. In 1521, Babar reached Saidpur. The Pathan chiefs of Saidpur decided to resist and thus invited death and destruction. Macauliffe says "The Pathan Chiefs of Saidpur, who resisted, were put to the sword, their wives¹ and children carried into captivity and all their property plundered" Nanak, who happened to be at Saidpur during its sack, was very much distressed to see the horrible sight of pillage and plunder which was committed by Babar. He could not resist his innate anger and thus commented:-

1. The Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Macauliffe, P.111
 Sabistan-i-Mazahib-Text, P.224

"As the word¹ of the Lord cometh to me so I make known O, Lalo
Bringing a bridal procession of sins,

Babar hath hastened from Kabul and demandeth wealth as his
bride.

O, Lalo."

Guru Nanak did not have any political contacts with the Mughal Emperors, Babar and Humayun. This was the first phase of Sikhism. The main activities of the founder of this sect related to love, peace and Bhagti, and out of these emerged the plant of Sikhism. In the course of two hundred years this tender plant assumed the proportions of a mighty tree with its branches spreading over vast areas of the earth.

The faith of Nanak was founded on three main principles -

(i) Faith in one God (ii) Repetition of His Name or Bhagti and (iii) the Guru's role in guiding his devotees. Guru Nanak raised his powerful voice against the superstitions, and foolish customs and ceremonies prevailing in his time. His devotion to one God "the True, the Immortal, the Self-existent, the Pure, the Inevitable" made Nanak reject incarnations and idols and abominations, while his insistence on right conduct cut away the basis of ritualistic practices and prayers.² He boldly faced the religious fanatics both Hindu and Muslim, and with his superior logic and practical illustrations, he put an end to these superstitions and evil customs and showed the Sikhs the path towards life everlasting.

Nanak wanted his mission to continue after his death. He had established Sangats at different places and appointed saintly persons to look after them. In choosing his successor he exercised great care, and gave preference to one of his disciples, named Lehna, over his sons. The reason for his choice lay, in the superior character and

1. - o . . . r e . p . 3

2. - o . . Macauliffe, p. 177

devotion of Lehna. Apparently enough, Nanak did not want his movement to preach flight from the problems of the world, and seek shelter in renunciation. He proposed to infuse religious spirit into the common people living a normal life. Sikhism was meant to be "essentially a religion of house-holders" as was the case with Islam.

ANGAD
GURU - 1539-1552:- Angad (Lehna) was born on the 11th of Baisakh¹ in 1561 B.E. (1504 A.D.) in Matte-di-Sarai, a village about six miles from Mukatsar in Ferozepur District. This village was once sacked by the Mughals and the Baluchas. On account of this, his father Pheru² who was a trader by profession, had to leave this village, with his family to settle at Khadur, now a famous town near Tarn Taran, in³ Amritsar District. He was a Khatri of the Trehan clan.

The characters of Nanak's two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Das were typical of extremes. Sri Chand disregarded his father's teachings had become an ascetic and founded the Udasi sect of recluses, who⁴ renounced the world and domestic life; the second was wholly given over to pleasure. It was, therefore, Angad, one of Nanak's disciples who was appointed his successor. The nomination to the Guruship⁵ "is a fact of the profoundest significance in Sikh history." The appointment of Angad was based on democratic principles. In Angad's succession, Nanak did establish a precedent through which could be established a community beyond the ties of family. He banned, that is, his own sons from succession to him, and clothed the Guruship by his own liberal ordination with more than family prestige, with due dignity and supreme importance. However with the accession of Guru Har Rai,

1. Bawa Bugh Singh says Mange-di-Sarai, Hans Chog, P.136

"He was born as tradesman in a trader's family in a Rajputana village" says Archer, P.136, but without quoting any authority.

2. Nanak Parkash, Santokh Singh-Part-II, XLVII-3

3. "Trehan or Tehun" (Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes-Vol.II, Rose, P.513)

Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai, Text, P.49

4. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai, Text, P.49

5. Evaluation of the Khalsa-Vol.I, Banerjee (1963), P.146

the grandson of the sixth Guru Hargobind, the office had become hereditary, but by another principle than that of primogeniture. In the entire line of Gurus only three sons, each in his turn succeeded their fathers - Arjan, Harkishan and Gobind Singh, the fifth, the eighth and tenth Gurus, respectively. Harkishan, was Har Rai's son and Gobi Singh was Teg Bahadur's son.

Guru Angad popularised Gurmukhi script¹, which became the sacred medium of expression of the hymns and prayers. He compiled Nanak's biography and the collection of his hymns. "We are enabled by the discovery of this Janam Sakhi (Biography of Nanak²) to distinguish the older tradition regarding Nanak³ and to fix with some degree of verisimilitude the real facts of his life." The institution of Langar (free and common kitchen) started by Angad a distinctive feature to the Sikhs, which had invited guests and friends to eat with and his disciples as one family, regardless of race, wealth, sex, caste, occupation or religion.³

Humayun, after his defeat by Sher Shah on May 17, 1540, at Kananj⁴ made his way to Lahore and learnt on the way of some "wonder working priest" who could restore him to his kingdom. He was informed by one of his associates, of the greatness of the late Guru Nanak and of the succession of Guru Angad to his spiritual sovereignty and advised him to seek his assistance. Upon this Humayun, taking offerings with him, proceeded to Khadur in Amritsar District. Angad was in a deep trance, minstrels were playing at the reback and singing the Guru's hymns and therefore the Emperor had to wait. At this Humayun became violently angry, and put his hand on the hilt of his sword with

1. -A. er, PP. -138
 2. , Trumpp, Introduction, P. 11
 3. -Vol. I, Banerjee, (1963), PP. 158-159
 4. - o . I, Macauliffe, PP. 19-20
 -Qanungo, P. 226

the intention of striking the Guru. The Guru, undaunted by this behaviour addressed him: "When you ought to have used your sword against Sher Shah, you proved yourself to be a coward and you fled the battle field and now posing as a hero you wish to attack a body of men engaged in their devotions." Humayun¹ apologised for what he had done² and thereafter took his leave, crossed the Indus with great difficulty and made his way to Iran.

Indu Bhushan Banerjee calls the story "very doubtful" perhaps only because he does not get any reference from the contemporary Muslim chronicler. But Humayun had passed through the ferry of Goindwal, while crossing the Beas, in 1540, where he was hotly pursued by the Afghan troops, on his retreat to Lahore. The mention of this meeting is made in almost all the Sikh histories that Humayun sought the benedictions of the Guru in his adversity, though the benediction were spiritual.

Guru Angad had two sons Dasu and Dattu. He nominated Amar Das³ as his successor and a few days after it, he died on March 29, 1552 (Chet, 1609 Bikram).

GURU AMAR DASS - 1552-1574:- He was the son of Tej Bhan of a small village Basarke situated in the District of Amritsar. He was born in 1479⁴ A.D. He extensively propagated the mission of Guru Nanak and composed many beautiful hymns which are much liked for their simplicity. Some Brahamans, under the leadership of a Marwaha Khatri, complained to Akbar against the teachings of the Guru. But they were all

1. - o . , Santo Sin , PP.
 2. - Vol. II, Santokh Singh, PP. 1349-53
 3. - o . , Macau e, P.
 - Sujan Rai, Text P. 49
 4. - Su an . , Te , P.
 - o . II , acauliffe P. 30
 - th
 - o . an o S n , .
- Vol. I, Khazan Singh, P. 1
- Vol. I, Khazan Singh, P.
- Vol. I, Khazan Singh, P. 11

baffled in their attempts, when on hearing religious views of the Guru, the Emperor showed his liking for the Sikh religion and refused to interfere with it.

3

Akbar developed a special liking for the religion of Nanak which preached universal love and tried to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. After the great victory of Chittor, Akbar came to Goindwal and was greatly impressed to see the working of the Guru's fr kitchen. He also partook the food prepared in the kitchen and was so highly pleased with it that he ordered twelve villages to be given in jagir for its maintenance. Apart from the material gain which was by no means unimportant, the visit of the Emperor enormously increased the fame and prestige of the Guru. The visit of Akbar made such a profound impression that crowds of converts were brought to the fold of Sikhism. The Guru died at the age of ninety five at Goindwal in 1574.

Guru Amar Das had some rivals such as Datu son of Guru Angad and Sri Chand, the son of Nanak. He succeeded at Angad's own designation, thus making further sure the exclusion of Sri Chand, from direct guru-ship, and giving further opportunity for distinction between the Sikhs and the order of 'Udasis' which meanwhile Sri Chand had instituted, otherwise Sikhism would have merely added one more sect to the countless orders of ascetics or devotees which are wholly unrepresented in the life of the people.

Amar Das was in true succession not only as Guru but also as a poet, and, as in the case of Nanak, verse became the channel of his message of reform. He faced the question, for example, of 'sati' (widow-burning), a Hindu custom which had continued also

1. ol.II, Macauli e, PP.108-1
2. a - o .II, Santokh Singh, P.1603
3. -Vol.II, Macauliffe, P.93
4. e -Vol.I, Banerjee, P.171
5. Vo . I, Macauliffe, P.151
6. - o .II Santokh Singh, PP.1624-26
- Vol.I, Banerjee, (1962), PP.165-166
- o . I, Macauliffe, PP.63-64

among Sikhs. He denounced the practice of 'sati' and openly asked his followers to remarry the widows:-

"Satiā eh na akhian jo marhia lag jalan;
Nanak; Satiā jēnian je birhā chot maran."

Amar Das settled down at Goindwal to guide the destiny of the Sikhs. By constructing a Baoli (large well), by reforming the institution of free and common kitchen, by dividing his spiritual Empire into twenty-two provinces (Manjis), by introducing new ceremonies for birth and death, he contributed a lot towards the cultural and social evolution of his followers.

GURU RAM DAS - 1534-1581:- Ram Das son of Thakar Das was born in Chuna Mandi, Lahore, in 1591 B.E. (1534 A.D.). Though he was called Ram Das yet he was generally known as Jetha, a name which means the first born. Ram Das was a man of considerable merit, of a quiet and peaceful disposition. He became famous for his piety, devotion, energy and eloquence. He devoted himself to literary pursuits and expounded his doctrines in beautiful and attractive hymns.

Guru Ram Das was also favoured by Akbar. He gave him, in 1577 a grant of five hundred bighas of land, containing a natural pool of seven hundred rupees, in the pargana of Jhubal, Amritsar District. Akbar also offered the Guru one hundred and one golden coins. The pool was changed into a tank and round about it grew the city of Amritsar, which became the Macca of the Sikhs, both religiously and temporally. The choice of the site was very wise for the country round about was

1. A Sati is not she who burnet herself on a pyre of her spouse. Nanak: a 'Sati' is she who dieth with the sheer shock of separation" (Adi Granth-Suhi ki Var, P. 787)
2. Sural Parkash-Vol. II, Santokh Singh, P. 1491
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Gujan Rai, Text, P. 49
3. The Sikhs-Archer, P. 141
Sural Parkash-Vol. II, Santokh Singh, P. 1681
4. The Sikh Religion-Vol. III, Macauliffe, P. 1
5. History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion-Vol. I, Khazan Singh, P. 116
Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol. I, Banerjee, P. 187

inhabited by hardy Hindu peasants, who could provide robust recruits to the new community. A commercial town was bound to increase progressively the revenue of the Church, and prove advantageous for the propagation of the new dispensation. The importance which the Guru attached to trade and commerce stressed the dignity of labour, encouraged crafts, arts and industry and fostered the spirit of enterprise, which proved to be a great asset not only to the Sikhs but in the long run, to the Hindus and the Muslims also. Ram Das nominated his third son Arjun, a young man of eighteen, to be his successor since he was the ablest and the most promising. With his appointment the principle of hereditary succession was virtually established, which was, however, undemocratic. Ram Das died in ¹September 1581.

GURU ARJAN - 1581-1606:- Bibi Bhani, wife of Guru Ram Das, gave birth to Arjan at Goindwal on Tuesday, the 7th day of the dark half of ²Baisakh, Sambat 1620 (1563 A.D.). He was the youngest son, who came into a large inheritance, and Sikhism during his term of office began to assume more definite proportions as an actually new community. Its number had been growing, although the total was not yet large. These were the members of the order in many villages "and the Sikhism had come to acquire, primarily through its 'Sangats' and 'Masands', ³a far-flung and, at the same time, a centralised organisation" Arjan set himself to the task of consolidation and organization of the Sikhs. He went on tour, preaching and organizing 'sangats' or congregational worship, which he declared to be of greater merit than individual worship. He reorganized and gave a permanent character to these missionaries, who were appointed by his predecessors to spread the Sikh

1. . . .1
Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol.I, Banerjee, P.187
2. The Sikh Religion-Vol.III, Macauliffe, P.1
Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Suman Rai, Text, P.49
Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol.I, Banerjee, P.187
3. Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol.I, Banerjee, P.11

religion and collect the offerings of the faithful. The Sikhs were exhorted 'to give a tithe of their substance to God'. In a way, such offerings were made compulsory. The 'Masands' and their deputies, called 'meoras' collected the offerings from place to place. "This band of Guru's agents (Masands) were stationed in every city from Kabul to Dacca, where there was a Sikh, to collect the tithes and offerings of the faithful; and this spiritual tribute, so far as it escaped peculation by the agents, reached the central treasury at ¹Amritsar". They were not allowed to use the revenue thus collected for their own use. Thus a steady flow of revenue to the central treasury at Amritsar was assured, which made it possible for the Guru to found towns like Tarantaran, Amritsar District and Kartarpur, Jullundur District and undertake extensive building and excavation operations. In the middle of the Amritsar tank he began to build the Golden temple which was calculated to become a central place of worship for the ²Sikhs - a sort of Kaba of the Muslims.

ARJAN AND AKBAR:- Akbar also paid a flying visit to Guru Arjan at Goindwal on November 24, 1598, while on his way back to Delhi from Lahore and was much impressed by his saintly bearing. Arjan brought to the notice of the Emperor the havoc wrought by the recent famine. ³The complaint bore fruit and the revenue for that year was remitted and relief was granted to the sufferers by the issue of grain from the imperial granaries. This contributed a great deal to the increase of the Guru's popularity.

The latitudinarian policy of Akbar gave the Sikh Gurus an opportunity to carry on their socio-religious work as best as they liked. The Emperor saw nothing particularly objectionable either in

1. - ol. . . . Sar . . .
2. - ol. III, Macauliffe, P. 20
- Vol. I, Banerjee, P. 192
3. - o . . . , Santokh Singh, PP. 1682-83

the movement or in the organization. Arjan's term of office coincided with the latter half of Akbar's reign, with that portion of it which Akbar's restless intellect sought absolute truth from somewhere during these years. Sikhism might have hoped to make progress. But it must have been an eye-sore to the landed and religious aristocracy of the Panjab. At this time Sirhind was the centre of a very orthodox revivalism among the Muslims. It was led by Shaikh Ahmad-ul Faruqi of Sirhind (born 1563-4) head of an orthodox Sufic order. About the close of the sixteenth century he was initiated in the Naqshbandi order at Delhi. He claimed to unite in the spiritual powers of all the religious orders of orthodox Islam. Shaikh bitter opposed Guru Arjan Dev's activities.

There were political considerations also, with their own social and religious implications that the outer larger world of the Mughals began to take increasing notice of the Sikhs now. It was Arjan who organized them. He gave them a written rule of faith in the Adi Granth, he provided a common rallying point in the city of Amritsar, which he made their religious as well as political rendezvous and he reduced their voluntary contributions to a systematic levy which accustomed them to discipline and paved the way for further organization. He was further unable wholly to abstain from politics, and he became a political partizan of the Mughal Prince Khusrau, who¹ was in rebellion against his father Jahangir, the then Emperor of India.

ARJAN AND JAHANGIR:- During his flight through the Panjab, Khusrau the rebel Prince, met the Guru who congratulated him, put saffron mark on his forehead, gave him his blessings and some financial help. Khusrau had visited the Guru, during his grand-father Akbar's life

1. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, P.72
Dabistan-i-Masabib-Vol.II, David Shea, P.273

time and to whom the Prince represented himself as distressed, for-
¹lorn individual.

Khusrau was defeated at Bhairawal as already stated, taken prisoner with Husain Beg Badakhshi and Abdur Rahim the most trusted generals of Khusrau's troops and with seven hundred more men who were publicly humiliated, and were impaled on stakes about the city. The leaders were given condign punishment and Khusrau, Jahangir's own son, being the rebel was blinded and tortured. All his sympathizers were heavily punished.

Khusrau's rebellion had aroused violent irascibility in Jahangir and made his temper brutal. Arjan's plain explanation that he had no other motive than of showing kindness and gentleness to the grandson of Akbar, in his forlorn and miserable condition, did not carry any weight with Jahangir, who imposed a fine of two or two and a half lacs on the Guru. The Guru refused to pay on the ground that he had no money of his own. At this Jahangir ordered that the Guru be imprisoned, his residence and children were handed over to Murtaza Khan, his property was confiscated and he himself ^{was} put to death. Jahangir, did not say or do anything more against the Sikhs. There was no other charge against the Sikhs and Jahangir did not show any sign for their further persecution on purely religious grounds. The execution of the Guru was based on political motives. Because all those people who sided the rebel prince such as Hussain Beg, Abdur Rahim and Amba Prasad were punished most barbarously. All the people without any distinction of caste and creed were equally and severely punished.

The writer will surely agree with Dr. Beni Prasad that, "without minimizing the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to

- Vol. , B, PP. 2
- Text, PP. 9-10
- o .VI, Elliot and Dowson, P. 448
- Vol. VI, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 290-301
- Vol. I, RAB, PP. 72-73
- ol. III, Macauliffe, P. 101

recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikh was molested. "No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjan himself would have ended¹ his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel." This view is further supported by S.R.Sharma that "Had Jahangir's persecution of the Guru been directed by religious motives, he would have persecuted the Sikhs as well. Neither Sikh tradition nor Muslim fanaticism² tells us anything of any further persecution of the Sikhs." "This was not clearly a case of religious persecution, but merely the customary³ punishment of a political offender." That Jahangir was not pronouncedly against the Sikh religion is also proved from the fact that he did not persecute the Sikhs as a community. He neither paid the fine nor allowed his followers to raise the amount because the Guru felt that by embracing death he would serve the cause of Sikhism better than obtaining a⁴ fresh lease of life on payment of the fine.

In fact Arjan is celebrated, not only as the compiler of the Adi Granth, but as the first Guru to assume the temporal as well as the spiritual control of his followers. Making Amritsar his headquarters, he established himself as the administrative head of the community, and framed laws to regulate their social and political life. The rapid development of the Sikhs at this time and the growing influence of their Guru soon led to trouble with the Mughals, and the persecution of their sect⁵ at the hand of the Mughal Emperors dates from Arjan's martyrdom.

On 22nd Jeth 1663 Samat (June 1606 A.D.) Guru died and according to his instructions, his body was thrown into the Ravi. His tomb was erected opposite the fort of Lahore, on the spot where he breathed his last. Its reaction on the Sikhs, however, was very different. It

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1. History of Jahangir-Beni Prasad (1962), P. 138
 2. The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors-S.R.Sharma, P. 77
 3. History of Aurangzeb-Vol. I-Jadunath Sarkar, P. 309
 4. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. I-R&B, PP. 72-73
 5. A Short History of the Sikhs-Payne, P. 31
 6. The Sikh Religion-Vol. III-Macauliffe, P. 100

sent a thrill of horror among them. They endured it with grim patience.

¹
GURU HARGOBIND - 1606-1645:- Hargobind was born at Wadali in 1595 A.D. A new era began in the history of the Sikhs with his accession to the Guruship. The disquieting and sad news of the painful death of Guru Arjan was conveyed with an inspiring message, "to bid him, not to mourn or indulge in unmanly lamentation, but sing, God's praises - let him sit fully armed on his throne, and maintain an army to the best of his ability"² Hargobind took the dying injunction of his father to heart very seriously. Unlike his father he constantly trained himself in martial exercises. He issued an encyclical letter to the 'Massands'³ to the effect that he would be pleased with those who brought offerings of arms and horses instead of money.⁴

The martyrdom of his father proved to be a turning point in the history of the Sikhs, in-as-much as it made quite patent what was a new charter to include deliberately and develop methodically righteous militancy, make Sikhism a church-militant and Hargobind a sol saint. "He infused military ardour into his disciples, and soon a formidable body of fighting men was at his command. At times he found it expedient to place his force at the service of the Emperor; but his general attitude towards the "Mughals of this province, was one of uncompromising."⁵

He laid the foundation of the Akal Takhat in 1606. The city of Amritsar was strengthened by a small fortification, which he called Lohgarh. His fame as a patron of martial sports attracted best warriors and wrestlers, from amongst whom he selected his body guards

1.

ol.III,Macauliffe,PP.35-39

o .III,Santokh Singh,P.1902

2.

-Vol.IV,Macauliffe,P.99

3.Deriv

on e Persian word Masnad(مسند)means a throne,a large cushion on which people recline - the royal or imperial throne. He means the sect of the tithe collector or the collector of revenue.

4.The Sikh Religion-Vol.IV,Macauliffe,P.3

5.A Short History of the Sikhs-Payne,P.32

and enlisted soldiers. The soldiers of the Guru were not mercenaries but the best of them were either volunteers or took only two meals, a uniform, a horse and weapons. The Sikhs were enjoined to settle all disputes among themselves.¹ "It was not long before rumours, whether couched in terms of the last 'words of Arjun' or in others, began to pass through the Indian bazaars and along the pilgrim routes that a change of mood prevailed among the Sikhs. In the Greater Garden some ploughshares were being beaten into swords and there were pruning hooks becoming spears. A fellowship of reconciliation was assuming² martial form."

The official reporters and the enemies of the Guru, particularly Chandu Shah,³ pointed out to Jahangir the implications of this new policy of Hargobind. The Emperor called the Guru and asked him to pay the fine which was imposed upon his father, but the Guru refused to pay. Thereupon he was arrested and was sent to the Fort of Cavalier⁴ as a State Prisoner where generally the important political offenders were kept.⁵ There are divergent views regarding the term of his imprisonment. Mohsan-i-Fani, the author of Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the contemporary of Hargobind states that "Guru Hargobind had to remain a prisoner in the Fort of Cavalier for twelve years, on scanty rations. Indu Bhushan Banerjee writes that at the most the Guru remained⁶ imprisoned for five years from 1607 to 1612. Principal Teja Singh is of the opinion that the Guru might have remained in Cavalier for two years at the most and that from 1612 to 1614.⁷ The Sikh writers, most of whom vaguely confine the Guru's imprisonment to a period of only forty days, state that a pious Sikh named Bhai Jetha, who went on a

1. -Ar. or, P.1
2. -Archer, P.171
3. -Vol.IV, Macauliffe, P.10
4. Vol.IV, Macauliffe, P.31
5. -Vol.II, David Shea, P.374
6. -Vol.II, Banerjee (1962), P.10
7. -Ja Singh, P.73

mission to Delhi to secure the Guru's release, succeeded in soothing the Emperor, who had been troubled with fearful visions. As the result of the pleading of Masir Khan, a Mughal noble, the Guru was released from the Fort of Gawaligar.¹

On account of such wide disagreement among the historians and also on account of paucity of the contemporary material available on this topic of great controversy, the writer cannot form any concrete opinion to define the exact term of the imprisonment of the Guru in the Fort of Gawaligar. However, going through the available sources and working out their accuracy, the Guru's confinement for forty days as stated by the Sikh traditions seems to be more correct or it can be little more but definitely cannot be more than a year or so. After this, Hargobind intentionally avoided clash with anybody and particularly with the Mughals. But a new epoch in the career of Har Gobind started with the death of Jahangir. The author of the Dabistan-i-Masahib, writes that the growing military strength and royal pomp of the Guru, his wordly spirit and tastes made a conflict between him and the Mughal government inevitable and it broke out after Shah Jahan's accession.² "That the Guru was becoming a potential source of disaffection, was clear from his alleged recruitment of malecontents and fugitives from justice and the asylum that he extended to disaffected chiefs."³ Besides his own regular followers he had also enlisted bands of Afghan mercenaries. The free booters and dacoits that entered freely into his ranks made him the centre of turbulent and dangerous crowds. The recruitment of the Afghan mercenaries like Painda Khan made the Emperor realize that the Guru's aim of taking such people into his fold could be no other but political.

1. The Sikh Religion-Vol. IV, Macauliffe, pp. 24-26

2. History of Aurangzeb-Vol. II, J.N. Sarkar, P. 310

3. Ram Partap, the fugitive Raja of Jaisalmer took refuge with the Guru and that Far Khan and Khawaja Sarai, dismissed commander of the Mughal Army, sought the Guru's asylum (Transformation of the Sikhs-G.C. Narang, P. 106)

This state of affairs brought an open quarrel between the Guru and Shah Jahan. The cause of the conflict was insignificant. It so happened one day that Shah Jahan was going from Lahore towards Amritsar, and a hawk belonging to the Emperor was seized by one of the Guru's followers.¹

At this, Mukhlis Khan, the Mughal general marched from Lahore, at the head of seven thousand troops. Several minor skirmishes took place in which two Sikh leaders lost their lives after a gallant fight. Painsa Khan, an Afghan, the commander of Sikh troops, stemmed the force of the enemy while the final charge led by the Guru himself completed the rout of the Mughal troops.³

The Imperial army was defeated near Amritsar and returned to Lahore, after losing many killed and wounded. "This was the first combat in the annals of the Panjab, which was fought between the Great Mughals and the Sikhs."⁴

This success, however, did not elate the Guru with pride. He retired to the jungles of Bhatinda, knowing the strength and resources of Shah Jahan better.

⁵
BATTLE OF LAHIRA - 1631:- One Bidhi Chand, a notorious free booter known afterwards as Baba Bidhi Chand, stole two of Shah Jahan's best horses from the Imperial stables at Lahore and brought them to the

1. a Santo Singh in Suraj Parkash - Vol.II, PP.280-281, says that the royal hawk was seized by the Guru himself with the help of his own arrow which flew and brought down the Emperor's hawk.
2. Later, Mukhlis Khan was replaced in Delhi by Quli Khan.
History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, P.64
3. Dabistan-i-Mazahib-David Shea, (1834), P.276
4. The Sikh Religion-Vol.IV, Macauliffe, PP.82-93
Gur Bilas-Gulab Singh and Sons, PP 271-291
Dabistan-i-Mazahib-Vol.II, David Shea, P.275
5. Muhammad Latif wrongly calls him Baba Budha, P.256
The horses were stolen by Bidhi Chand, a villiant Nijjar Jat of Dist Jullundur Doab.
Suraj Parkash-Vol.IV, Santokh Singh, P.3163

1
Guru. This inflamed the anger of the Emperor. Military preparations were, therefore, made on a large scale and the command of the Mughal forces was entrusted to Qamar Beg and Lal Beg. The Royal forces moved towards the barren country of Bhatinda and both the armies met at a small village of Lahira situated in Bhatinda. "Lack of provisions and the difficulties of the march had a disastrous effect on the Mughal forces. They were reduced to great straits and being defeated by the Sikhs, fled to Lahore, leaving its commanders slain in the battle."²

Hargobind having twice beaten the Mughal army in the open field, now began to entertain some degree of confidence in his own power, and in the powers of his followers. He, therefore, crossed the Beas and established himself at Kartarpur where he collected a large army, and patiently awaited a favourable opportunity for renewing hostilities with Shah Jahan. The author of Dabistan-i-Mazahib says that the Guru fled to Kartarpur and the various Sikh accounts also bear him out.³

BATTLE OF KARTARPUR - 1624:- After a short spell of three year's peace, war again broke out between the Sikhs and the Mughals. Painda Khan an Afghan ex-general of the Sikh troops, had left the service of the Guru after a quarrel and joined Shah Jahan. The Emperor sent another big expedition against the Guru, commanded by Painda Khan and Kale Khan. Bhai Bidhi Chand and Baba Gurditta gave them a tough fight. Kale Khan and Painda Khan both were killed in the battle field. Thus, the Mughals failed to gain a single decisive victory against the Guru.

Hargobind totally changed the peaceful character of Nanak's

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Chand of Kabul but on the way they were seized by the Mughal
Officials, and sent to the Imperial stables.
2. The Sikh Religion-Vol.V, Macauliffe, PP.156-157
2. History of the Panjab-Muhammad-Latif, P.256
3. Dabistan-i-Mazahib-Vol.II, David Shea, P.376
Panth Parkash-Rattan Singh Bhango, P.113
4. The Sikh Religion-Vol.IV, Macauliffe, PP.97,98

disciples, who now laid aside their rosaries and buckled on the sword in defence of their faith. He first formed the Sikhs into a military ¹ body. His popularity increased with the warlike Jats, who being oppressed in their villages, joined him in large numbers. The Guru's camp became their home and the plunder of the Muhammadan oppressors, their lawful prey. The fighting spirit of the Sikhs having been roused and their quality proved it, made them a power to be counted. Hargobind was looked upon by the Sikhs, not only as a divine messenger, but as an accomplished swordsman, a hero, and a thorough master of the art of War. ²

All the same, constant pressure, which the Mughals brought upon the rising power of the Sikhs, not only brought to a standstill the work of the religious propaganda but resulted in much sufferings to the Sikhs, and threatened to annihilate the Sikh fraternity which stood almost on its own strength and received little support from the Hindu population of the Panjab. The Guru was shrewd enough to see that his limited resources would not stand for a long time, the unlimited pressure of one of the most resourceful Mughal Emperor. He, therefore, decided to give some respite to the community and spend his time in meditation and recouping his strength. Consequently he retired to the Shivalik Hills and made Kiratpur, in Hoshiarpur District as his head-quarter. Guru Hargobind died in 1645, after installing Har Rai, the son of his eldest son to the Guruship. ³

GURU HAR RAI - 1645-61:- Guru Har Rai was born of Gurditta's wife, Nihal Kaur, in 1631 at Kiratpur. He was very attentive to his devotion. After the death of Guru Har Gobind a period of disintegration commenced. Guru Arjan had practically established the organization of his

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1. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai, Text, P. 53
Dabistan-i-Masahib-Vol. II, David Shea, P. 237
 2. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai, Text, P. 50
History of the Panjab-Muhammad Latif, P. 257
 3. Dabistan-i-Masahib-Vol. II, David Shea, P. 230
History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion-Vol. I, Khazan Singh, P. 139
 4. Sukal Parkash-Vol. III, Santokh Singh, P. 3117

followers on peaceful lines and under Guru Har Gobind, Sikhism had added into itself an army, how-so-ever weak or small it might have been. A tradition had, thus, been created which was destined to transform the ideology of the Sikhs and Sikhism, but that consummation was still more than half a century off, and, the forces of disruption succeeded in making considerable headway. The deterioration of the 'Masand' system and the intervention of the state soon brought about a state of affairs in which the centrifugal tendencies were very much in evidence.

The relations between the Sikhs and the Mughal government remained cordial till 1657, when after the war of succession, Shah Jahan was imprisoned and Aurangzeb succeeded to the throne of India. GURU HAR RAI AND AURANGZEB:- Dara Shikoh was defeated by Aurangzeb and the former had to flee towards the Panjab. The Guru was friendly to the Prince who paid him visits of respect in the course of his general devotion to Sadhus (Saints) and the Guru had blessed him when he came as a fugitive to the Panjab after the War of Succession. The Guru by nature was inclined towards spiritualism. The Prince had sought shelter and the Guru welcomed him and gave all moral and spiritual help.

Aurangzeb sent for the Guru immediately after his succession, because he was annoyed with the Guru for the help, whether active or passive, given to the rebel Dara. The Guru in consultation with the Sikhs, sent Ram Rai, his eldest son, instead, with the injunctions, that Ram Rai should remain "to be true to his faith and never to swerve from it whatever the circumstances might be,"². He also impressed on him the propriety of not countenancing any objections, the Emperor might make to Granth Sahib, but of replying to him patiently and to the purpose." The Emperor Jahangir told my great grand-

1. The Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Macauliffe, P.203

2. History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Khazan Singh, P.1

father Guru Arjan, that certain passages reflecting on the Muhammad-ans ought to be expunged, but he indignantly refused, and said, he would never alter or abridge the writings of the Gurus. He suffered¹ much in consequence; but he never flattered any one."

The Emperor asked Ram Rai whether the Guru wrote against Islam in the Adi Granth and a verse of Asa-di-Var was read out to Ram Rai.

"Mitti Musalman Ki pere pai Kumiār,
Ghar bhande ittan kian, jaldi kare pukar."

Ram Rai began to reflect and was in a great fix as to how to please Aurangzeb. He, therefore, determined to alter the line of Guru Nanak from the Adi Granth in order to gratify the Emperor. He, thus, altogether forgot his father's parting injunctions and said "Your Majesty, Guru Nanak wrote that 'Mitti Beimanki' that is, the ashes² of the faithless and not of the Muslims fall into the potters clay."

The Sikhs of Delhi lost no time in reporting Ram Rai's perfidy to the Guru, who was much distressed at the insult of Guru Nanak and the Adi Granth. The Guru declared him unfit³ for the exalted position of the Guruship and decided to nominate his younger son, Har Kishan, who was just a child of five years. Har Rai died in 1661.

HAR KISHAN - 1661-1664:- Guru Har Kishan was born in 1656. His elder brother, Ram Rai, had shown cowardice in the court of Aurangzeb and, therefore, he was disinherited as already stated. Har Kishan was nominated by his father, as his successor who succeeded to the Guruship in 1661 when he was only five years and three months old. He is styled as the "Child Saint".

His elder brother Ram Rai, who was disinherited by Guru Har

1. History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Macauliffe, P. 309
2. "Ashes of Muslims are mixed with potters' clay; Bricks and vessels of the mixture cry as they burn" (Asa-di-Var-Adi Granth, P. 466)
3. The Sikh Religion-Vol.IV, Macauliffe, P. 309
4. The Sikh Religion-Vol.IV, Macauliffe, PP. 314-17
5. History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Khazan Singh, P. 145
6. The Sikh Religion-Vol.IV, Macauliffe, P. 315

Rai, was popular at the court of Aurangzeb and was also very jealous of the Guru. He, therefore, complained to Aurangzeb against Har Kishan or against the decision of his father which had set aside his superior claims.

The complaint of Ram Rai was admitted and the Emperor summoned the infant Guru to his presence.¹ "Thus, Aurangzeb was given an opportunity of intervening in a matter which by all means, should have been kept away from him and the whole incident showed up the Sikhs in a light which was hardly dignified."² Taking advantage of the disputed succession to the Guruship, the Masands (tithe collectors)³ collected and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves. Aurangzeb issued orders to the Guru to repair to Delhi. The young Guru left Kiratpur in 1664 and forbade the Sikhs to proceed with him. On his arrival at Delhi, the Guru put up with Raja Jai Singh. The Guru after a short stay, fell ill and before meeting the Emperor, died of small-pox in Chet 1621 Sambat (1665 A.D.).⁴

GURU TEGH BAHADUR - 1664-1675:- Guru Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of the sixth Guru, Har Gobind, was born in what is now called Guru-da-Mahal at Amritsar in 1622.⁵ After travelling through the various part of India,⁶ Guru Tegh Bahadur settled at Kiratpur.

Aurangzeb had issued proclamation throughout the Empire that the Hindus should embrace Islam, and that those who did so should receive Jagirs, state service and all the immunities granted to royal favourites.⁷ The experiment of conversion was first tried in Kashmir.

1. Vo . O, Santo Singh, PP. 3934-43
2. - ol. II, Banerjee, P. 52
3. - Vol. 9, Santokh Singh, PP. 3757-5760
4. - Sarup ss alla, P. 363
- Vol. 10, Santokh Singh, PP. 3934-43
5. an Sin n his Tawarikh Guru Khalsa-Vol. I, P. 213, says "19 Maghar 1678 Sambat" (1621 A.D.)
6. About 56 miles from Hoshiarpur. It stands at the foot of the Naina Devi peak, on the left bank of the Satluj.
7. "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful, to be expelled from the cities." (Muntakhab-ut-Tuhab-Khafi Khat Text, P. 653)

Sher Afghan Khan, Aurangzeb's Viceroy, set about converting the Kashmiris by sword and massacred those who persisted in their adherence to the faith of their fore-fathers. The Hindus who did not want to be converted and whom Sher Afghan Khan's troops could not capture, fled the country. Even the Muslims who in any way assisted the Hindus were¹ mercilessly put to death.

At last Sher Afghan Khan began to reflect that there had been too much slaughter. He sent for the Kashmiri Pandits and informed them of the Emperor's orders. The Kashmiri Pandits asked for a respite of six months to make up their minds for the conversion. The time limit was granted and now as the period of six months was about to lapse and they could not find any way, they all approached Guru Tegh Bahadur who was then at Anandpur and related their sad story, as to how the Hindus of their country were being converted. They implored him to preserve the honour of their faith in whatever way he seemed² fit.³

Tegh Bahadur told the Kashmiris to go in a body to Delhi and make the following representation to Aurangzeb. "Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru is the protector of the Hindu faith and religion. First make him a Musلمان and then all the Hindus including ourselves will, of our own accord adopt the faith."⁴

At this representation the royal summons were despatched to the Guru at Anandpur. Tegh Bahadur went to Delhi under guard and was arrested as a public enemy. He was tried as an unbeliever. There were many more prisoners of the sort in Delhi at that time. The outcome was⁵ a sentence of death and he was soon publicly executed, at a place

1. ... - O . , Macauliffe, P. 372
2. A u y m es from Hoshiarpur.
3. The Sikh Religion-Vol. IV, Macauliffe, P. 372
4. The Sikh Religion-Vol. IV, Macauliffe, P. 372
5. History of the Sikhs-Bakhat Mal, F. 17-a
- Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai, Text, P. 70

later became the Chandni Chowk. He was in fact, beheaded, his headless body remaining long exposed in public and his body was quartered and a portion of it hung at each of the city's four gates. His head was stolen by a faithful Sikh who carried it to Anandpur, where it was cremated.

"The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur proved a baptism of fire. It helped his son and successor Guru Gobind Singh to transform the Sikhs into the fiery warriors as they proved themselves in the eighteenth century." "His execution was universally regarded by the Hindus as a sacrifice for their faith. The whole of the Panjab began to burn with indignation and revenge." "The dragon's teeth thus sown at Delhi in the blood of the martyred Guru Tegh Bahadur, soon brought to harvest an abundant crop."

GURU GOBIND SINGH - 1675-1708:- Guru Gobind Singh was born at Patna, in 1666. He was only ^{ten}fifteen years of age when his father died, leaving him the Guruship, but he had shared his father's company and had become imbued with the consciousness of mission. He had received council of his dying father that he should keep his seat fearlessly at Anandpur and destroy the Turks i.e. the Mughals.

Gobind Singh became a champion of the lowly people of north India and an irreconcilable foe of Muslim rule, affording Sikhism opportunity for further integration and ultimate expansion. Up to and including his time Sikhs had dwelt mostly within the triangular region enclosed by the Beas and the Satluj rivers and the Himalaya Mountains, nor had they for all purposes a headquarter. Islam as religion was

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1. The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors-S.R. Sharma, P.166
 2. Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol.II, Banerjee, P.63
 3. The Sikhs-J.N. Gordon, P.36
 4. Sambat 1723 Bikram (1666-A.D.)-Suraj Parkash-Vol.III, Santokh Singh, PP.4367-68
 5. History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Khazan Singh, PP.162-204
- History of the Sikhs-Vol.I, Mc.Gregor, PP.69-104

still extraneous to this region, and prevalent Hinduism was of a mediocre quality, and static. Not until last decade of seventeenth century, however, was the Guru able to establish a permanent, effective order, the Khalsa, expressive of Sikh solidarity and political ambition.)

The policy of armed resistance, which had been almost wholly abandoned by the successors of Guru Har Gobind again became prominent under him. The Guru had settled at Paunta, leaving Anandpur, his father's headquarters, because Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur had become jealous of him. Bhim Chand attacked the Guru in 1682 but he had to retreat leaving behind many dead in the field.

It appears that the root of the matter went even deeper as the Guru was growing too strong for Bhim Chand. The followers of the Guru sometimes also ravaged the adjacent villages. Raja Bhim Chand, therefore, sought the help of other hill Rajas to form an alliance. The defeat sustained by Bhim Chand in 1682, ever rankled in his bosom and he counted on the aid of the other hill Rajas to make a combined effort to defeat and expel the Sikhs.

The hill Rajas fell upon the Guru at Paunta. They also enlisted the band of five hundred Afghans who were recruited by Guru Gobind Singh on the recommendation of Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura. Five hundred 'Udasis' who were fed from the Guru's free kitchen for a long time, also deserted the Guru along with the Afghans. The Guru had hardly two hundred and fifty disciples to encounter this large army

1. Paunta is about 13 miles from Anandpur on the road to Ambala.

2. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.137

3. This confederacy consisted of Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur), Raja Kirpal Chand of Katoch, Raja Sukhdial of Jasrota, Raja Hari Chand of Hindoor, Raja Pirthi Chand of Dadhwal, and Raja Patch Chand of Srinagar. (Tawarikh Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.140)

4. "Khangah of Budhu Shah lies towards the east of Samadh (tomb) of Baba Gurditta, at Kiratpur, at a distance of quarter of a mile. Budhu Shah, a Muslim saint; was a great friend of Baba Gurditta.

5. Sadhaura is a small town situated near the hills, 26 miles east of Ambala on the Nakhi or Sadhaurawali Naddi.

of the hill chiefs. A pitched battle was fought on April 6, 1687. The loss inflicted by the Sikhs was very considerable. The Sikhs pursued the enemy with heavy slaughter and returned with enormous booty and trophies of war. The services of all those who fought for the Guru were suitably rewarded. The victory instilled a great hope and confidence among the Guru's followers. It convinced the Sikhs, that if they were properly organized and trained, they would be able to fight successfully against every type of tyranny. So far the Guru and his Khalsa lived precariously at times and always awaiting for their opportunity. In 1687, the Guru was finally prepared for action out of the hills. The troops were marshalled which were drilled for an offensive.

After this battle the Guru had shifted to Anandpur where he established a workshop in which guns, rifles and arms of all sorts were manufactured. He also established during the following two years the forts of Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Keshgarh, and Fatehgarh to protect himself against the attacks of his hill neighbours. Raja Bhim Chand also concluded peace with the Guru.

BATTLE OF NADAWN:- The Emperor Aurangzeb was away at that time in the Deccan and some of the Rajas of the Panjab hill states wanted to take

- 1. Ten Parganas near a village of Amritsar were recruited by the Guru to his army on his recommendation, had betrayed the Guru he at once came along with his four sons to the Guru to fight against the hill Rajas.
- 2. History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion-Vol.I, Khazan Singh, P.1
- 3. Bachittar Nattak-Gobind Singh, P.20
Guru Bilas-Vol.VI, PP.96, 155
Sural Parkash-Vol.IV, Santokh Singh, P.16
- 4. Tavarikh Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.40
- 5. Lohgarh was in time past a small stronghold of Guru Gobind Singh in his battles with the hill chiefs.
- 6. It is a famous spot where Guru Gobind Singh administered Amrit (the Sikh baptism) to his first five disciples in 1699 making them Singhs and declaring the Khalsa.
- 7. At Sirhind, the place where the two infant sons of Guru Gobind Singh were buried alive in 1704 A.D. by Baid Khan, the Subah of Sirhind.
- 8. Tavarikh-Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.141
- 9. Nadawn is a petty town, on the left bank of the Beas, 20 miles south-east of Kangra town.

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full advantage of his absence. It had become apparent to many keen and interested observers that the once mighty Empire of the Mughals was in the process of decay. The Guru also joined the confederacy of the Hill Chiefs. But this friendship and alliance with them brought the Guru into direct conflict with the Mughals. At the same time Aurangzeb had deputed his army to collect revenue from the Hill Rajas because they had not been paying the royal tribute in regular instalments. He sent his commander-in-chief, Alif Khan to levy tribute on Kirpal Chand, Raja of Kangra, Kesari Chand, Raja of Jaswal, Prithi Chand, Raja of Dadhwal, Sukh Dev, Raja of Jasrota and others. A blood battle was fought at Nadaun, in which the Mughals were defeated.

After this the Governor of Lahore was ordered by the Emperor to despatch his son, Rustam Khan, with two thousand horse to surprise the Guru at Anandpur and to collect the revenue from the hill chiefs. After a nominal fight, he also suffered a great loss at the hands of the Sikhs owing to the inclemency of weather. This discomfiture inflamed the governor of Lahore and he despatched Ghulam Hussain Khan who was known for his tyranny and hot temper at the head of two thousand horse and foot soldiers. Some hill Rajas also joined Ghulam Hussain Khan. A big army was detailed again from Lahore, to subdue the Guru. The Imperial force drove out the Sikhs from Anandpur and plundered the town. But during the night, the Guru made a smart attack and dispersed the Imperial force with heavy losses. Most of their baggage fell into the hands of the Sikhs.

Hearing all about the disorder in the north, Aurangzeb sent his son Muazzam from the Deccan to pay personal attention to the

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1. The Sikh Religion-Vol.V, Macauliffe, P.51
 2. Bachitra Natak-Gobind Singh-Vol.VIII, PP.11-13
 3. Tavarih-Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.142
 4. The Sikh Religion-Vol.V, Macauliffe, P.304
 4. Tavarih Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.142

rebellions in the Panjab hills. Muazzam reached Lahore and sent a large force under Mirza Beg against the Guru. But even Mirza Beg could not crush the power of the Sikhs.¹

THE BATTLE OF ANANDPUR - 1701:- Band after band of enthusiastic followers came to the Guru with full faith. The Hill Rajas regarded the Guru as virtually an intruder. Also the creation of the Khalsa in 1699² was looked upon as a great danger by most of the hill chiefs. The Guru had denounced the caste system and image worship among his followers which was taken as a direct attack on their religious feelings. The democratic teachings and the military zeal of the Guru was considered a serious menace for them. As Anandpur, the headquarter of the Guru, was situated in the territory of Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur, he was greatly concerned. He wanted a pretext to turn the Guru out of his territory and sent a messenger with a letter demanding that the Guru should either relinquish the land he was occupying in his state or he should pay the rent,³ but the Guru flatly rejected both.

Consequently, Raja Bhim Chand, in alliance with other hill chiefs, besieged Anandpur, and instead of resorting to a frontal attack, the forces of the hill chiefs were ordered to surround Anandpur and stop all means of supply and communications. The battle lasted for several days and Ajit Singh son of the Guru, though a lad of about fourteen years,⁴ performed prodigies of valour.

Soon things came to such a pass that many people left their homes and retired to the forest for safety. The Kahlur chief was unable to give protection to his subjects and to save them from the

1. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.151

History of the Panjab-Muhammad Latif, P.264

2. Evolution of the Khalsa-Vol.II, Banerjee, PP.108-125

3. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.151

History of the Panjab-Muhammad Latif, P.264

4. The Sikh records give us the impression that the war, was forced upon the Guru, who had no desire of running into hostilities and was, on the contrary, eager for an understanding with these hill chiefs.

domination of the Sikhs and thus he decided to enlist the assistance
^{The} ¹
 of Mughal Government.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF ANANDPUR - 1703-1704:- Hostilities between the hill chiefs and the Khalsa again broke out, in 1703 as the Guru had greatly increased his military strength and even extended his territory at the expense of the hill chiefs. They again sought the help of the Mughals, which was immediately provided by the latter. The Hill chiefs organized the siege of Anandpur in such a fool proof manner that both goods and persons could neither enter nor leave the fort. At the request of the hill chiefs, Aurangzeb, once more, ordered an attack by despatching flanking forces, one under the command of the governor of Lahore, the other under the command of Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, whose seat was only thirty miles south of Anandpur. All the means of communication were controlled and the defenders experienced great hardship in getting the supply of food and water, a large number of Sikhs died of starvation with the result that after a few days the Sikhs began to feel the desperateness of their position. Consequently they appealed ^{to} the Guru to surrender the fort, but he did not agree. Thereupon forty Sikhs from 'The Manjha' (The residents of the Bari Doab) signed a disclaimer and left the Guru. The Guru did not lose his courage even then. But he had to abandon the fort at the advice of his mother.

The Guru told the Mughal generals that he would surrender the
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 fort provided his safe exit was guaranteed. The Mughal generals and the hill chiefs unanimously agreed and the Guru left Anandpur in 1704

1. Tawarikh Guru Khalsa-Vol.I, Gyan Singh, P.152

2. "The envoy and the Imperial Officers used various means to ensure him of their good intentions and declarations bearing the Holy Quran as witness. All the Hindu Hill Rajas submitted a joint letter with an image of a cow made of flour requesting evacuation of the fort and promising safety." (History and Philosophy of the Sikhs Religion-Vol.I, Khazan Singh, P.184)

¹
in a good faith.

Hardly had the Guru and his followers covered a few miles when the imperialists and the hill chiefs hotly chased the Guru, while the Guru was quite unaware of this perfidy. Severe fighting ensued on the bank of Sirsa and in the confusion that followed the Guru with his two ³ eldest sons and forty Sikhs made towards Rupa³r. The allied forces continued to harass the Guru during his retreat. He left some of his men at Rupa³r to arrest their progress and himself went towards Chamkaur. On the way at Baru Majra he got intelligence that a fresh contingent of the Imperial army was close at hand to capture the Sikhs.

Another hard contested battle was fought at Chamkaur when artillery from Sirhind was ordered to be mobilised for the Imperial attack. The Mughal forces pursued the fugitive to Chamkaur and besieged the fortress. In this battle the Sikhs lost many men, including Guru's two sons. The Guru himself escaped under cover of the night to the nearby town of Bahlol. Thirty-five Sikhs out of the forty died fighting. The Guru took refuge in the jungles of Machhiwara. Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, the determined enemy of the Guru, had issued orders for his arrest. But the Guru again escaped during night in the guise of a Muslim saint and fled further towards the wastes of Bhatinda. Many of the besieged also escaped and rejoined the Guru at Bhatinda.

In the confusion that followed the fight near the Sirsa, Mata Gufri with her two younger grand-sons, Jujhar Singh and Fateh Singh had

1. - ol. ,Mac e, P.1 4

- ol. XIII, 33

2. A stream in Rupa³r Tehsil.

3. Most of the Manuscripts, the result of years of literary labour and great expense were either lost in the affray or washed away by the stream.

4. Ahkan-i-Alangiri-Inayat Ullah, FF. 55b-56a

5. Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh.

6. Bahlolpur is situated in Samrala Tehsil on the ridge over the Budha Nala, seven miles east of Machhiwara and 37 miles from Ludhiana.

got separated from the main party and had taken shelter with one Gangu, who was a discharged cook of the Guru and a native of a village Kheri near Sirhind. With the hope of getting a reward by surrender them to the Subedar of Sirhind, Gangu taking into confidence the head man of his village, informed the chief of Muranda, who conveyed the two infants of the Guru with their old grand mother to Wazir Khan, th Subedar of Sirhind. The Nawab of Malerkotla made an attempt to save the lives of the boys, aged nine and seven, but Wazir Khan did not move. They were asked to embrace Islam and on their daring refusal to do so, were most mercilessly executed.¹

BATTLE OF KHIRANA - 1706:- After a short stay in the village of Raipur and Kahlur to recoup his lost health and strength, the Guru journeyed to Mukatsar where the forty Sikhs of the Manjha, who had deserted him at Anandpur, again joined him.² The Guru was able to collect here twelve thousand fighting man.³ Mukatsar, situated in the desert, south of the bend of the Satlej river, was a comparative safe retreat. Many of its Jat inhabitants were friendly to the Khalsa. It was usually dangerous and futile for a hostile expedition to venture into this recess of sand and distance.

Hearing the news of this new development of the Sikhs, the governor of Sirhind, sent a body of seven thousand Imperial troops to disperse the Guru's forces. A battle was fought between the Imperialists and the Sikhs at Khidrana (Muktsar) in which the latter were

... s gener ... among ... s a ... en were ... c into a wall and suffered to die in that position, but the authors of the Suraj Parkash and of the Gur Bilas state that both the sons of the Guru were put to death in the order of their ages by sword of the Ghilzal executioner. They died asking each other who should first have the honour of martyrdom. The two children Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh aged seven and nine years respectively perished on the 13th Poh Sambat 1733 B.E. corresponding to 1705 A.D. (The Sikh Religion-Vol.V, Macauliffe, P.198)

2. Situated in Naraingarh Tehsil, Ambala.

3. Thirty miles east of Fasilka.

4. The Sikh Religion-Vol.V, Macauliffe, PP.211-212

5. Al-Hisab-i-Alamgiri-P.20

The Sikh Religion-Vol.V, Macauliffe, PP.208-212

victorious. A large number of soldiers fell on both sides in that
¹
 action.

When Aurangzeb had sent summons to the Guru to appear in Delhi Gobind Singh penned his famous letter entitled Zafar Namah or victorious epistle, in defence. The letter reproached the Mughal Emperor for his false dealings, bad faith, high crimes and misdemeanors and rehearsed the merits of the Sikh religion and the Khalsa, assuring him that the Sikhs would one day take vengeance on him for his injuries to them. Later on the Guru made peace with Aurangzeb but his reign bequeathed a tradition of hostility between the Sikhs and the Mughal government. After this, the Guru and his Khalsa were left undisturbed for the remaining period from 1705 to 1707, until the death of Aurangzeb.

The bitter memory of the execution of the ninth Guru and that of burying alive of the tenth Guru's two sons, was passed on by one generation to the other. The execution of the Guru's two younger sons at Sirhind, laid the foundation of the bitter enmity between the Sikhs and the Mughals which was later on made use of by Banda so
²
 successfully against Aurangzeb's successors.

1. The tank called Mukatsar in the Ferozepur District, was consecrated by the Guru on the field with the blessings that "whoever bathes in it, will obtain salvation." Hence name 'Mukatsar' given to it by the Guru meaning the tank of a emancipation. A great fair is held at Mukatsar on the first of Magh (15th February) every year.
2. Vichittar Natak-Gobind Singh, Chapter XII

CHAPTER - VIII

ADMINISTRATION

A. CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Babar and Humayun had neither the leisure nor the disposition to reorganise the administrative system. All the significant institutions of the Great Mughals may be attributed to the genius of Akbar. The administration of the Surs had completely broken down. Akbar had to begin almost from scratch. Akbar was an original thinker and a constructive statesman of high calibre. He overhauled the entire administrative machinery from the bottom to the top. He set up the central structure of the Empire having ministers and departments of the Central Government. He was the first Muslim ruler who set up a well organised system of provincial government. He evolved a workable basis of the revenue system and introduced the mansabdari system and eradicated many of its evils.

THE PROVINCIAL STRUCTURE

The provincial structure of the Mughal government was exactly a miniature of that of the Central Government. The foundation of the Mughal administrative system lay in the division of the empire into provinces and districts. It was Akbar who divided his empire into Subahs or Provinces and made the governor of each Subah responsible for every branch of its administration, but the actual administrative unit from the beginning was the Sarkar or district, each of which had a military commander, distinct from the revenue officer. The district were further sub-divided into the divisions (Mahal) which usually but not invariably coincided with the old Hindu local Parganas. In areas

where the means of communications were scanty, a further sub-division¹ was sometimes made into 'tappas'.

The Mughal province of Lahore as already stated, coincided roughly with the province of Panjab, under the British rule. The boundaries of the Mughal Panjab expanded and contracted from time to time. In the early Mughal period the Panjab extended from the river Satluj to the river Indus, a distance of 180 kos, and its breadth² extended from Himber to Chaukhandi, a distance of 86 kos. After Akbar, the Panjab was divided into two provinces, viz: the subahs of Lahore and Multan. Kashmir and Kabul remained separate provinces. Cis Satluj Panjab up to Hissar remained under the Governor of Lahore for some time. Though Multan, Kashmir and Kabul provinces were under the direct control of their respective separate governors, they always acknowledged the supremacy of the Governor of Lahore.

The main officials of the province were the governor also known as Nazim or Subahdar, the Diwan, the Bakhshi, the Qazi, the Sadr, the Buyutat, and the Censor. Their powers, functions and duties are briefly³ given below.

1. THE SUBAH DAR

The principal duties of the Subahdar or Sipahsalar⁴ or even Subah (Governor)⁵ were to maintain order, to ensure the smooth and successful collection of revenue, and to execute the royal decrees and regulations sent to him.⁶

The provincial governor was placed at the head of the provincial administration. Minor provinces were occasionally entrusted to the governors of the adjoining provinces. This was done either to

1. India at the Death of Akbar-Moreland, P.

2. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett, P. 315

3. The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire-Ibn Hasan, P. 304

4. The Viceroy

5. 'Nazim' means, the Regulator of the Province.

6. Mughal Administration-Jadunath Sarkar, P. 61

show a special favour to a person or for the sake of better supervision and control. In 1634, Ali Mardan Khan was made the governor of Lahore and Kashair, which post he occupied until 1640. On his accession, Shah Jahan appointed Yamin-ud-daulah, the governor of both the Lahore and Multan provinces and the latter carried on the administration of Multan through his deputy Amir Khan, son of Gasim Khan. ² Amir Khan was officially called the subahdar although he was the deputy of the governor of the Lahore province.

The Governor was charged with maintaining peace and preserving order to bring under his supervision the administration of all the departments so far as carrying out of Imperial directions was concerned. He was to put down local rebellions, carry out minor military operations on his own in the province, or in the neighbouring areas, dispense justice, and listen to complaints against public servants. He recommended officers for promotion and Imperial honours and collected the tributes due from the local feudatory chiefs and remitted ~~these~~ ^{these} to the Imperial treasury. He kept the Emperor informed of what was happening in the province and carried out the orders he received from the Emperor. He could conclude peace but the terms made were subject to ratification by the Emperor who could modify ³ them or reject them as inadequate if he thought it necessary.

The governors were always chosen from the capable military officers who were also gifted with executive ability. They were expected to be men of character and integrity. In particular, the selection of the subahdar of Lahore was a matter of real importance. The Great Mughals were always cautious to keep a strict control over this Frontier province of the Empire since it separated the province of Kabul from India. Unlike the Himalayan wall of the north, as

1. Ma'asir-ul-Umera-Vol. II, Shah Nawaz Khan, P.

2. Badshahnama-Vol. II, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, pp. 125-126

3. The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire-Ibn Hasan, P. 330

stated in the first chapter, rugged stretch of mountainous country from Baluchistan to Kashmir, inhabited by ferocious tribes of Turko-Iranian origin is pierced by a number of passes, the Khaibar, the Kurram, the Tochi, the Gomal and the Bolan. It always fell to the lot of the governors of Lahore province to deal with two main problems; first, to keep the frontier tribes under control and the second, to guard against aggression from beyond e.g. Mir Yunis Ali had to deal with the Baluchis,¹ and Mirza Kamran quelled the rebellion of Sam Mirza,² the able successor of Shah Ismail of Iran, Mir Muhammad, the Khan-i-Klan (1566-1568) dealt with the first invasion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the governor of Kabul, and that of the Sakhs, ~~an~~ incoherent³ tribe of the Salt Range; Sa'id Khan (1578-1585) had to face the second invasion of Muhammad Hakim Mirza in 1581. During the governorship of Shaikh Farid (1610-1616),⁴ Ahmad's⁵ rebellion was crushed. Because of the defensive needs of the Province, Sher Shah Sur had to build the fort of Rohtas and Islam Shah had to establish five more strongholds,⁶ Mankot being one of them. This Frontier problem was so acute that Akbar had to shift his Imperial Headquarters from Agra to Lahore from 1584 to 1598 because the condition of Kabul and Kashmir provinces was very disorderly and the frontier turbulent tribes were continually causing disorder in the Panjab. Every Mughal Emperor was conscious about the strategic position of this province and thus appointed capable persons as governors who could grapple with the

1. Memoirs of Babar-Vol. II, ... ng, PP.
2. History of India-Vol. I, Erskine, P. 100
Humayun Badshah-Banerjee, PP. 83-83
3. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, PP. 410-412
Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 519-535
4. Akbarnama-Vol. II, Beveridge, P. 544
Tabaat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., P. 322
5. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol. II, RAB, PP. 197-99
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. II, Lowe, P. 360
6. Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani-Makhsani-i-Afghani-Harvi, Text, P. 195
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. II, Lowe, P. 11
7. Akbar the Great Mughal-Smith, PP. 231-60
Tabaat-i-Akbari-Vol. II, B. De., PP. 630-650

problem and find a lasting solution.

The Mughals never failed to react against incompetence or abuse and did not hesitate to remove even their favourite governors from their charge if their conduct was found to be unsatisfactory. Akbar was touring the Panjab in 1578, when he was approached by some people, who complained that Shah Quli Mohram (1575-1578), the governor, did not punish the oppressors and that, in consequence, the administration of justice was not in good state. On inquiry the complaint was found correct and the governor was reprimanded and cashiered. Shah Jahan dismissed Wasir Khan, the governor of the Panjab on the ground of oppression. All the governors of the Panjab, who held office during the period under our study, have been discussed earlier under their respective Emperors.

2. DEWAN

The provincial Dewan was selected by the Imperial Dewan and was appointed directly from the Imperial court and was in no way subordinate to the governor. He acted directly under the orders of the Imperial Dewan and was in every way responsible to him.

The provincial Dewan was the second officer in rank in the province. He was not subordinate to the Subedar. The Subedar was the head of the military, police and executive services while the Dewan was the head of the Civil and the Revenue departments. The Dewan was in charge of finances also. His duties were to collect revenue, to keep accounts of expenditure and receipts, to disburse the salary of provincial officers and to administer civil justice. He was instructed to encourage the growth of agriculture and to keep a strict watch

1. -Vo .II ,Beveridge,P. 7

2. -Abdul Hamid Lahori,Text,P.158

3. -Ali Muhammad Khan,P.173

4. In the year ,Akbar issued an order that all provincial Dewans should report their proceedings to His Majesty in accordance with the suggestions of the Chief Dewan, Khawaja Shams-ud-din"(Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.III,Jarrett,P.670)

over the treasury. He was to scrutinize the accounts of the revenue collectors and to see that there were no arrears of revenue. He was required to send regular, periodical reports on the condition of the crops and other produce of the Panjab to the Imperial Dewan.

The Dewan received all the records of the collection, remissions and arrears of land revenue from various parts of the province. His agents in various parts of the province realized sales tax, 'Rahdari' dues, octroi and whatever other taxes were levied by the Emperor. It was his duty to see that money was spent only by proper authorisation, i.e. for the purposes approved by the Emperor or the Imperial Dewan.

The Dewan maintained the following records dealing with the Executive Departments and their answers together with separate files of the revenue of the mahals of the crown lands, under the seals and signatures of the qanungos and zamindars. The estimates, realisations¹ and expenditure together with 'roznamachas' and 'awarijas'² under the seal of the karori (collector), (ii) Records dealing with the department of the Mahals of the Jagir lands in the order of the amount of salaries granted by the Emperor, (iii) Record of the department of counting the wells in each pargana, signed by the qanungos concerned & (iv) Records dealing with the departments of 'inams' land commissions to Headmen, qanungos and Maqaddams.

The following were the provincial officers of the Dewan's office; (i) the Peshkar or the Secretary and Personal Assistant; (ii) the Darogha of the Dewan's court and office; (iii) the Mushrif, an inspector or head clerk; (iv) the Tehsildar-i-daftar Khana treasurer of the office; (v) the staff consisting of the munsifs of

1. A daily account book.

2. A cash book, a book of receipts.

the kachehry such as the huzfir nawis, subah nawis, the Muharrir-1-Khalsa, Muharrir-daftar-1-tan, Muharrir daftar, the clerk in charge of weighing and measuring, the clerk in charge of imports. From the clerk to the treasurer, the writer of rates, the writer of news, the man in charge of the office and the peon and the watch of the kachehry all were on establishment of the Provincial Dewan.

3. THE BAKHSHI

The Bakhshi was an equally important officer in the Province and was usually second in command to the governor. He had to act as a provincial news-writer as well. He was in charge of the military establishment of the province. Under the instructions of the Mir Bakhshi, his subordinates at the Sarkars, the towns and the districts held yearly inspections of horses and reviews of soldiers. He had to pay to the mansabdars serving in the province.

At the time of an expedition it was the duty of the Bakhshi to see that all the mansabdars and other officers were summoned to take part with their quota of men and horses. The Bakhshi was the chief commander of the army of that particular expedition and he had to look to the needs of the army, during the operation. He had to report to the Emperor all that happened in the province as the results of the expeditions and the progress of the work of the various departments in the province. By the virtue of this position he could report provincial matters to the Emperor without referring to the governor

1. The Court.

2. The clerk dealing with the correspondence with the Central Government.

3. The clerk dealing with the correspondence with the Governor's office.

4. Clerk of the lands under government management.

5. Salary Disbursement clerk.

6. The Office clerk.

7. "In the Empire of the Great Mughals, the Bakhshi was an official of a high rank who had charge of the registration of body of troops and had to pay them." (Encyclopaedia of Islam-Vol. I, P. 600)

¹
of the province.

4. WAQAI NAWIS

The agency through which the central government learnt the news of the provinces consisted of (i) Waqi Nawis, (ii) The Swanih Nigar, (iii) The Khufia Nawis, (iv) The Harkarah. At first Waqai Nawises were employed to report provincial occurrences, but owing to the suspicion of their entering into collision with the local officers, a new set of officers viz. Sawanah Nigars (who, too, were called Khufia Nawis) were appointed to reside secretly in provinces and to report news. Eventually the latter were entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements within the province. "The reports of these officers were read out to the Emperor at night." This branch of the intelligence department soon became very popular with the provincial governors, Dewans and with the Emperors, as it kept them informed of the happenings and conditions of their localities. It was on the basis of such a report that in 1578 when Akbar was touring the Panjab, he found that actually the lands given as madad-i-maash had been encroached upon. The Emperor redressed the grievance. Even such an occurrence as the death of a few travellers on the road by a sudden storm near Lahore were reported to Jahangir.

The Waqai Nawis used to appoint agents in most of the small parganas to report to him the occurrences of those places out of which he selected what was fit for the Emperor's ears and incorporated it in the provincial news letters. In the offices of the

1. - - - o .II arre t, PP.41-42

The Provincial Administration of the Mughals-P.Saran,P.66

2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi-Printed, PP.173-78

3. Sometimes written as Waqai Nigar.

4. A writer or surveyor of occurrences.

5. Writer of the secret reports, the most confidential agents.

6. A spy, who generally brought oral news and at times also sent news letters.

7. Mirat-i-Ahmadi-Text, P.175

8. Storia-do-Mogor-Vol.II, Manucci, PP.331-32

9. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.I, Lowe, P.254

10. Memoirs of Jahangir-Vol.I, R&B, P.347

Governor, the Dewan, the Faujdar of the environs of the provincial capital, the court of justice, he also maintained clerks who brought to him every evening a record of what had happened there during the day. In many of the important parganas separate reporters were posted directly from the Imperial Court, to send to the provincial *Sikha* (ledger of receipts) of the escheated jagirs of Mansabdars who were dead, absconding or absent.

5. THE SADAR AND THE QAZI

Next to the Dewan, the most important officers were the heads of the judicial and religious departments. These two departments were often combined, although a distinction seems to have been kept up between the jurisdiction of the various officials connected with this department.

It was the duty of the Sadr Qazi to recommend to the imperial department deserving cases of pious and learned men for the endowment of land. He also served as the head of the judicial department. In this capacity he was required to supervise the work of the Qazis of districts and towns. He dispensed justice, performed marriages among the high personages of the province and acted as the Registrar General for the whole province.

A Qazi was also posted at every large town and a seat of a faujdar. The smaller towns and the villages had no Qazi of their own, but any plaintiff living there, could carry his suit to the Qazi of the neighbouring town in whose jurisdiction the small town or village lay.

6. DEWAN-I-BAYUTAT

Dewan-i-Bayut⁵at was the representative of the 'Khan-i-Saman'

1. The Kotwal's Chabutra (Court).

2. *Hirat-i-Ahmadi*-Ali Muhammad Khan, PP. 174-175

3. *Ain-i-Akbari*-Vol. II, Jarrett, PP. 42-43

4. *The Mughal Administration*-Jadunath Sarkar, P. 107

5. Pl. of Bayut (Houses). An office for registering the effects of deceased persons.

in the province. He was an officer who registered the property of deceased persons, in order to secure the payment of the dues of the state. He was to make provisions for the 'Karkhanas' (Factories) and fix the prices of articles. He looked after roads and buildings, supervised imperial stores and ran state workshops. He took charge of escheated properties. He also looked to the comforts of the Emperor¹ whenever he was touring the province.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

The Panjab like other provinces was further divided into a number of Sarkars or districts. Every Sarkar had a Faujdar, an Amalgazsar, a Qazi, a Kotwal, a Bitikchi and a Khanzadar. Their duties and powers are briefly given below:-

1. THE FAUJDAR:- He was the head of the Sarkar and was usually a mansabdar of high rank; sometimes as high as four thousand horse. As such he was appointed by the Emperor by a Royal 'Farman'. He was the direct representative of the Emperor, in the area under his command, working however, under the supervision of the Bakhshi. He was to maintain peace and order, to keep the roads free from robbers and thieves and to enforce Imperial regulations. He was in charge of a small force. It was his duty to keep the army fully equipped and in readiness for service. He was required to assist the collector in the work of revenue collection. He also worked as the Kotwal of the rural areas² which had no Kotwals of their own.

In the maintenance of peace and the discharge of executive functions in general, the Subedar's assistants were the Faujdars. These officers were placed at the head of suitable subdivisions of the province. "In short, the Faujdar, as is evident from his designation, was only the commander of a military force stationed in the 'Sarkar' to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take

2. t r
c
o . , arre ,P .

- asan,P.
Ibn Hasan, PP. 75, 96, 127, 206

cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge¹ or the censor.

FAUJDARS AND THE FRONTIER FORTS:- The western and northern side of India comprised from west to east, of provinces of Multan, Kashmir and Lahore. A part of the north-western boundary of Multan and Lahore was exposed to aggression from beyond the passes as well as from the north-western Frontier province beyond the Indus and the Gakhar country between the Indus and the Chenab. Forts were established in the Shivalik hills and were given under charge of the Faujdars to take full measures for the defence of the country. These forts were built in the year 1630, when almost all those parts of the Himalayan frontiers had come under the direct sway of the great Mughals.²

i) **Jammu:-** This fort was in the north of the Rechna Doab situated between the Ravi and the Chenab, at the foot of the hills, protected³ at the summit.

ii) **Nagarkot:-** Situated north of the Bari Doab, between the Ravi and the Beas on the slopes of the Kangra hills, which was surmounted by a massive fort.⁴ Shah Quli Khan was the Faujdar of Nagarkot, in 1622.

iii) **Mau:-** The capital of this fort was Nurpur, generally known as⁵ Dhamari, also in the Bari Doab, 'Mau' is situated half way between Pathankot and Nurpur on a ridge of low hills running to the east of the Chakki river.

iv) **Jaswan:-** This fort was situated in the Jaswan Dun of the outer hills, now in Hoshiarpur District. The state of Jaswan was annexed in⁶ 1572 and was thus established as a Mughal cantonement under a Faujdar.

1. a na Sar ,P.

- o . arrett, PP.41-43

2. - ol.III, Beveridge, PP.884-884

3. - - -Vol.II, Jarrett, P.320

4. - - -Vol.II, Jarrett, P.319

5. - - -Vol.II, Jarrett, P.319

-Abdul Hamid Lahori Text, P.264

6. -Vol.I, H. & Vogel, PP.207-209

v) Kahlur:- Kot-Kahlur is situated on the Naina Devi Dhar, on the left bank of the Satluj, on the north-western end of the range of Shivalik hills¹. This place was the centre of the struggle between the Sikhs, the hill chiefs and the Mughals during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign.

vi) Cavalior (Guler):- In addition to the Guler fort at the capital called Haripur Fort, there were six more petty forts along frontier of the state. These were Mastgarh, Kotla, Nehkianok, Gandharp, Ramga² and Mangarh. Of these Kotla was the most important fort.

vii) Dahpal:- Details are not forthcoming.

viii) Siba³:- Situated in Kangra District, it was once part of the Guler State.

ix) Mankot:- This fort was of great importance and was one of the five frontier forts in the Shivalik hills built by Islam Shah which were constructed of stone. All these five forts looked like one fortification⁴ to the eye of the spectator.

x) Jasrota:- It was an extinct principality in Kashmir, lying to the north of Jammu. It was situated in the outer Shivaliks to the west of the Ravi and to the south of Karaidbar Range.⁵

xi) Laknampur:- It was bounded on the north by the Karaidbar range separating it from Basholi, on the east by the Ravi, it was surrendered⁶ to the Mughals in 1594-95.

There were other frontier forts and the most important of these

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|----|------|----------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | - - | - o .I | arret t,P. | -Vol.II,H. & Vogel,PP.494-495 |
| 2. | - - | -Vo .I | arrett,P. | -Vol.I,H. & Vogel,PP.199-206 |
| | | - o . , | iot | Dowson,P.357 |
| 3. | - - | - o .II, | Jarrett P.319 | Vol.I,H. & Vogel,PP.210-211 |
| 4. | | - | - o . | owe,PP.386-387 |
| 5. | | | | -Vol.I,H. & Vogel,PP.556-557 |
| 6. | .PP. | | | -Vol.VI, Elliot and Dowson,P.128 |

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was on the Indus near Attock which was in the charge of Mirza Yusuf² Khan in 1581 when Muhammad Hakim Mirza invaded the Panjab from Kabul. Mirza Rustam Khan succeeded to this post in 1591. Owing to the contumacious conduct of the hill chieftains, this post continued to be³ considered of great importance and was always entrusted to able men. Other than the frontier fort of Attock, the forts of Lahore, Sialkot and Rohtas were also of great importance and were under the full⁴ charge of the Faujdars. The writer has consulted all the available contemporary and secondary sources to find out the names of the Faujdars who held these forts under their charge from time to time, but that data is not available anywhere.

2. AMAL QAZAR:- The Dewan was represented by the collector called 'Amal' popularly known as Karori in the district. He had a considerable staff to help him in the Sarkar stationed at the important towns of the district discharging police and other miscellaneous duties.

The 'Amal' was a revenue collector who was assisted by a large staff. He was also to punish robbers and other miscreants in order to protect the peasantry. He was authorised to advance Taqavi (loans) to the peasants and to recover the same gradually. He was to supervise the work of the treasurer of his district and to send monthly reports of receipts and expenditures to the court and remit regularly the⁵ revenue of the district to the Imperial treasury.

3. THE ELTIKCHI :- As far as revenue affairs were concerned, office

1. This fort was built by Aurangzeb in 1667 on a journey to the north-west frontier to suppress the rebellion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. It is a massive structure, built mostly for the purpose of defence of the frontier.

2. Akbarnama-Vol.III, Beveridge, PP. 336-37, 493-94

3. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, PP. 336-37, 493-94

The Central Structure of Mughal Empire-Ibn Hasan, PP. 76, 96, 137, 206

The Provincial Government of the Mughals- P.Saran, PP. 98, 209, 100, 227-228

4. India of Aurangzeb-(Chashar Gulshan), Jadunath Sarkar, P.123

5. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.II, Jarrett, PP. 45-48

The Provincial Administration of the Mughals-P.Saran, PP. 284, 386

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of Bitikchi was next to that of the Amal Gazar. He was required to be a conscientious worker, a good writer, and a skillful accountant. Although officially he was styled as writer, he was indispensable. His duty was to prepare necessary papers and records regarding the nature of the land and its produce and it was on the basis of these records that the assessment was made by the Amalgazar. He was required to obtain from the Qanungos the statements of the average revenue of each village which was calculated on the basis of the last ten years produce. He was required to have a knowledge of the peculiar customs and land tenures obtaining in his district and was also to record the area of arable and waste lands of each village. He was to record the name of each husbandman who brought the rent and to issue him a receipt signed by the treasurer. He was to receive from the 'Patwari' copies of the rolls of the 'Patwaris' and 'Muqaddams' by means of which they had made the collections together with the memorandum given to the husbandmen and was to inspect and carefully scrutinize the same and in case any falsity appeared, he had to report it to the collector. Whenever any cultivator wanted any reference to his account, it was the foremost duty of the Bitikchi to settle that without delay and at the close of each harvest, he was to record the collections and balances of each village and compare them with the 'Patwaris' rolls.

THE PARGANA

Each Sarkar or a District was divided into 'Parganahs' or 'Mahals'. The 'Parganah' was the lowest fiscal administrative unit. It had a Tahsildar in charge of the collection of revenue. It was here that the land revenue was actually paid to the State. The 'Muqaddams' brought their collections to the pargana treasury. Some-

1. Bitikchi is a word of Turkish origin; meaning a writer or a recorder.

2. The Central Structure of Mughal Empire-Ibn Hasan, P. 186
The Provincial Government of the Mughals-P. Saran, PP. 237-238

times the peasants themselves paid revenue into the treasury. The Tahsildar was helped by a staff of clerks; one controlled the treasury another kept the account of the money realized from various sources, and the third recorded all the arrears due. Several sets of surveyors worked in the pargana at the time of harvest recording the cropped area in various villages. There were four principal officers in every pargana.

1. THE SHIQDAR²- The Shiqdar was the executive officer of the Pargana and was responsible for its general administration. Besides maintaining peace and order in the pargana, he was to receive the money when the cultivators made payments in the pargana treasury and supervise and control the treasury. He was empowered along with the 'Karkun'³ to sanction expenditure from the treasury in case of emergency. It was his duty to forward such cases which did not fall within his jurisdiction to the Kotwal of the Sarkar.⁴

2. THE AMIL⁵- The 'Amil', 'Munsif' or 'Amin' had to discharge the same duties in the pargana as the Amalguzar, in the district. His main work was that of assessment and collection of land revenue with the help of an adequate staff. He was required to deal directly with the peasantry and not through the headman of the village. Besides, he assisted the Shiqdar in the maintenance of law and order and punishment of miscreants. The term munsif, it seems gradually fell into disuse and 'Amil' remained in vogue, but it does not seem to have been altogether forgotten under Akbar or even much later.

1. .Saran, PP. 14
2. The Shiqdar is a governor; an officer appointed to collect the revenue from the certain division of land.
3. "He was a sort of camp clerk and accountant in one, both to the chief 'Amil' and the pargana 'Amil' and going round with them on their tours of assessment." (P.Saran, P. 290)
4. Ibid. P. 284
5. The Central Structures of Mughal Empire-Ibn. Hasan, P. 307
The Provincial Government of the Mughals-P. Saran, P. 292

3. THE FOTDAR¹:- The Fotdar was the treasurer of the pargana and had to discharge the same duties in the pargana as the 'Khazandar'² (Treasurer) in the district. He was not empowered to make any disbursement without the sanction of the Dewan. In cases of emergency he could incur expenditure on the authority of the Shiqdar and the 'Karkun' provided he represented the case to the government without³ delay.

4. THE QANUNGO⁴:- The Qanungo was an old official and perhaps the one officer whose association with the pargana has continued since very early times down to our own day. As at present, he was in a way the head of the 'Patwaris' of his pargana. He was to keep the same record for the parganas as the 'Patwari' had to keep for the village. Formerly the 'Qanungos' were paid by means of a commission of 1% which was changed by Akbar and thenceforth they were paid cash salaries from the public treasury besides an assignment for personal maintenance. There were three grades of Qanungos in Akbar's time; the first got rupees fifty per month, the second thirty, and the third twenty.

Qanungo was a repository of knowledge of various kinds of land tenures and other peculiarities relating to the nature of the soil and the assessment and collection of revenue. He was an expounder of the laws that applied in India especially to village and district revenue officers, who under former governments recorded all circumstances within their sphere which concerned landed property and the realisation of the revenue, keeping registers of the value, tenure, extent and transfer of the lands, assisting in the measurement and survey of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue payees, and explai-

1. Treasurer.

2. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett, P. 52

3. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett, P. 52

The Provincial Government of the Mughals-P. Saran, P. 289

4. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, PP. 300, Vol. II, PP. 23-25

ning, when required, local practices and public regulations. This was the position till the eighteenth century just before the establishm¹ of British administration.

TOWN ADMINISTRATION

KOTWAL:- The Kotwal was appointed by the Imperial government, on the recommendation and by a 'sanad' bearing the seal of the Imperial commander of the artillery. Besides utilizing one hundred infantry attached to the provincial governor for that purpose, his personal contingent was fifty horsemen. He was in charge of the internal defence, health, sanitation and peace of the provincial capital. He had wide powers as he was the supreme administrator of all the police stations² of the province. P.Saran says that the obligations and powers of the Kotwal can be stated under a few broad heads viz., (i) Watch and ward of the town; (ii) control of the Markets; (iii) care and legitimate disposal of heirless property; (iv) care of the people's conduct and prevention of crime; (v) prevention of social abuses, such as Sati³ (vi) regulation of the cemeteries, burials and slaughter houses.

The Kotwal collected information about bad characters, recorded all movements of citizens into and from the city, suppressed crime by punishing all those whom he arrested. The Kotwal supervised the jail and put down minor disturbances in the city. He also inspected markets⁴. All the Kotwals were under the Subedars says Sri Ram Sharma. In the reign of Aurangzeb the inspection of the markets was often entrusted to the 'Muhtasibs'.

Under the Kotwal, there was the 'Mushrif' who was appointed by the government, according to the regulations of the province, and the salary of the 'Mushrif', was fixed at Rupees forty per month. He was

1. The Provincial Government of the Mughals-P.Saran,P.295

2. Mirat-i-Ahmad:-Vol.I, Ali Ahmed Khan, PP.168-70

3. The Provincial Government of the Mughals-P.Saran,P.233

4. Ibid. PP.353,356

paid from the Imperial treasury the abstract of his salary being endorsed by the seals of the Kotwal and the Dewan-i-Subah. The Kotwal appointed the bearers in the city allotting to each a certain part¹ which he was to watch day and night.

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

A village is as old as the hills which is more true of India than any other country in the world. There was a great variety in the principle as well as details of the composition of villages in ancient India. But as far as their administrative system is concerned, it was uniform in its main features and operation which may be taken as fairly typical of all the various forms of rural communities. The Muslim rulers did not interfere with, alter or modify the local government of village communities in any manner. The contemporary historians say nothing of the government's attitude towards the village community, but their appreciation of it was written in their silent but unmistakable recognition of its value and advantages. They did not destroy it because they realised, as we are entitled to conclude, that they had no better alternative to substitute in its place which would be calculated to serve the interest of the people so well. Hence, they gave it a sort of legal standing by their tacit recognition of it. In the normal affairs of the village communities or their administration no interference was attempted by the Mughal Governors. It is also beyond doubt that the representatives of the communities were invariably held answerable for crimes of a more serious nature, such as murder and treasonable activities. An appeal could be made without any restriction, to an ascending hierarchy of the judicial officials of the government, in disputes of all kinds - civil, criminal, religious

1. - A. Ahm an F.

2. - India-Preface-XIV

3. - a on Powell (1896), PP. 73, 217, 246

India at the Death of Akbar-Moreland, PP. 136-37

or social in which the decision of the local body failed to give satisfaction to either party. The provincial government kept touch with the villages by means of (i) the Faujdars posted to the subdivisions, who almost always lived in the district towns; (ii) the lower officials of the revenue department who did the actual collection from the peasantry; (iii) the visits of the Zamindars to the Subedar court; and (iv) the tours of the Subedar. The contact, however, was not very intimate and the villagers were left pretty much to their own devices. Government at the chief towns of the province, was indifferent to their affairs, so long as they paid the land tax and did not disturb the peace.

The following were the functionaries in the villages:-

1. MUQADAM:- The Muqadam was probably the 'Sarpanch' or Headman known by this name for his revenue functions. He distributed the demand slips and collected the land revenue from the cultivators. He was allowed 2.5% of the revenue as his fee. He was responsible for the realization of the land revenue from the village and in the cases of any delay in payment he was called to account.
2. PATWARI:- There was a chain of officials connecting the village with the pargana (modern Tahsil). For the purpose of the maintenance of revenue records and agricultural statistics there were groups or small circles to each of which a 'Patwari' or village registrar was appointed. After the Kharif harvest inspection it was the duty of 'Patwari' to give the 'Muqadam' (headman) a list, known as the 'Fard Dhal Bachh' showing the demand due under different heads (land revenue local rate etc.) from the owner of each holding. That list was brought up to date and corrected, if necessary, after the instalments for the

1.
2.
3

-S.R. Arma, .
-P.Saran, PP. 166-167, 236, 41
P.Saran, P. 243

two harvests were found to be not equal or where the demand was a fluctuating one, assessed by the applications of acreage rates to harvested area. The 'Patwari' was bound to help the 'Muqaddam' by exclaiming the accounts and by writing, if required, the receipts to be given to the share holders. But he was forbidden to have anything to do with the actual collection or handling of the money. It was his duty to give to the 'Muqaddam' for preservation at the pargana, a memorandum showing under the proper head of the accounts to be paid in. Abdul Fazl says that the Patwari was a writer employed on the part of the cultivators. He probably unlike the 'qamungo' continued to be paid by the one per cent commission which was taken from the other sources.

"He was the accountant, maintained by the villagers at their own cost, to keep account of the cropped area, the crops sown and the revenue due, demanded from and paid by every cultivator. He seems to have been keeping a weather journal on which were based any claims for remission, the cultivators might demand."²

B. REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

During the Mughal period the revenue system was for the first time reorganised by Akbar. He effected many changes which can be studied under three main heads, viz. (a) Method of Assessment; (b) State Demand and (c) Method of Payment. It was in the twenty-fourth year of his reign that Akbar introduced the "Ten Year Settlement", under the supervision of Raja Todar Mal. The salient features of Akbar's revenue system were the measurement of land, its survey and classification. The annual settlement was given up. The revenue was collected in kind but in certain cases cash payments were preferred.

1. Pr. Irsal.

2. Mughal Government and Administration-S.R.Sharma,P.245
Mughal Administration-Jadunath Sarkar,PP.55-56

According to Ain-i-Akbari, each province of India was divided into a number of Sarkars and each Sarkar into Parganas. The Pargana was the unit of general administration under Sher Shah and his successors, and the Sarkar which was a group of Parganas, represented more or less something like the present day commissioners' divisions serving as a medium of communication between the provincial government and the district and as an agency of general supervision over the pargana administration. For the first time Akbar had divided the Panjab into five territorial divisions. He gave the name Bet Jallandhar to the valley between the Beas and the Satluji; of Bari to that of between the Beas and the Ravi; of Rechna to that of between the Ravi and the Chenab; of Jenhat to the valley of the Chenab and the Jhelum and the Sindh Sagar to that of the Jhelum and Sindh, for details please see Appendix-B.

It is difficult to assess the boundary between the provinces of Lahore and Multan exactly. The limits of the territory covered by the Lahore province and the Sarkars of Multan and Dipalpur of the Multan province can be laid down with tolerable certainty. The measured area of the province of Lahore does not show any noticeable alternations between the statistics given in Ain-i-Akbari and those of Aurangzeb's reign, when nine-tenths of the villages are shown to have been measured. In the Multan province, the practice of measurement was apparently abandoned in the Sarkar of Multan, but almost all the villages of Dipalpur Sarkar had come under measurement by the later

1. The Pargana and Sarkar of Lahore were merely revenue divisions, but Sher Shah enjoined upon his officers the duty of protecting the people from robbery and theft and punishing the evil-doers. (Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi-Abas Khan, Bankipur Lib. MS FF. 228)
2. Doaba Bist Jallandhar
3. Doaba Bari
4. Doaba Rechna
5. Doab Chaj
6. Doaba Sindh Sagar
7. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett, P. 315

1
years of the Great Mughals. The Parganas which had not been measured might, therefore, have been assessed according to some other system, that is, either by sharing of crops or 'nasaq'. No figures for the area of the parganas beyond the five rivers are recorded. One of these Kahlur was a state under its own Raja and must have had its own system of land revenue assessment, probably sharing of the crops. The Akbarnama also mentions some states under their own chief in the Panjab including Kangra and other Himachal Rajas. There was a zabti system in the Subah of Multan also. In the province of Thatta, sharing of crops was common, one-third being claimed as the State's share. The cultivators had the option to pay in kind or in cash, but they were encouraged to pay in cash. Here again a very large part of the country was under the chiefs who collected the land revenue from the cultivators and paid tribute to the Mughal emperors.

4
CLASSIFICATION OF LANDS:- The land was classified into four divisions under Akbar for the purpose of cultivation and for the assessment of the proportionate dues to be collected from the peasants. The land was thus measured by gaz, the tanab, and the bigha and a different scale of revenue was fixed to be paid by the cultivators, which remained in vogue throughout the Mughal period. The first class of the land was "Polaj" which was annually cultivated for each crop and was never allowed to be fallowed. The second class was "parauti" which was left out of cultivation for sometime so that it might recover its strength. Third was Chachar which land had lain fallow for three or four years. And the class fourth was named as Banjar land which remained uncultivated for more than three or four years. The first

1. n -Sara, P.

2. Bi spur Sta .

3. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Jarrett, P. 883

Tuzak-i-Jahangir-Vol.II, S&S, P. 346

4. The Provincial Government of Mughals-P.Saran, PP. 297, 319, 277

The Mughal Government and Administration-S.R.Sharma, PP. 69-76

two kinds of land, were further classified into three groups viz., good, middling and bad. They added together the produce of each sort, and a third of that represented the medium produce, one-third part of which was exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Shah, which was at that time in vogue in the Panjab being the lowest rate of assessment, generally remained, and for the convenience of the ¹ cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money. When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the Chachar land fell out of cultivation, the husbandmen being in considerable distress in the first year, two fifths of the assessment was taken and in the second year three-fifths, in the third year four-fifths and in the fifth-year, the ordinary revenue ² was charged. According to difference of situation, the revenue was paid either in money or in kind. In the case of Banjar land it was left to the option of the cultivator to ³ pay in ready money or by 'kankut' or bhaoli.

In the Bari Doab of this province including the whole of the province of Multan, Zabti system of assessment was in vogue. The exact area of a number of mahals which were under the zabti is not known. But a careful examination of the revenue figures for each mahal shows that at least fourteen mahals out of fifty-two were 'Naqdi' and thirty ⁴ eight mahals were under the zabti system.

The cultivators were the direct masters of the land in the Mughal Panjab. They could sell, mortgage, or give away their lands in gift. Land passed from father to son like all other property. The State had an interest in the landed estates of a cultivator who ran away after defaulting in the payment of the revenue.

The collections were made at Holi in spring and at Dushehra in

1. - - - - -Vo . Jarrett ,P.
2. - - - - -Vol.I Jarrett,P.73
3. - - - - -Vol.I, Jarrett, PP.74-75
4. - - - - -P.Saran,P.311

¹
autumn; Reports of collection were sent daily by the recorder to the collector. Every month, receipts were sent to the ministry of revenue. Any damage to the crops by unforeseen factors was to be reported to ² the Emperor who would then order necessary remission of land revenue.

No revenue was charged from serais, cemeteries and cremation grounds. If trees were planted for shade or fuel, the usual revenue was charged, but fruit bearing gardens paid one-fifth when owned by the Hindus and one-sixth when owned by the Muslims. Later on, a flat rate of Rs. 3½ per bigha was levied on the gardens if the trees were so planted as to leave no land under cultivation. Every revenue official was told that to increase the cultivated area was one of his most important duties. Where necessary, advances were made to the agriculturists for breaking new lands, this made it possible for the cultivators to set off a part of the cost of breaking new land for concessions in land revenue which they received. Those who brought new land under cultivation were recognized as the owners thereof.

There is no record that in any period of the history the whole land was claimed as private property by the Mughal Emperors. However, when land changed hands, elaborate rules safe-guarded the claim of the State to the revenue. If an heir or buyer had time enough for cultivating it after acquiring his title, he paid the land revenue. If the heir or the buyer did not get enough time to cultivate the land, the revenue was remitted. The leased and mortgaged lands also paid land revenue under similar conditions.

C. THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The army of the Great Mughals was based on the Mansabdari system which was introduced by Akbar. It was managed by a department totally separate from the civil government of the provinces as now.

1. Court Bulletin-30-1-1703

2. Court Bulletin-13-1-1704

On the other hand, the recruitment of the greater bulk of the army, its training and discipline, its maintenance and equipment and the arranging of campaigns and camps were all done through officials who were also responsible for the Civil Administration of the province. There were no military divisions of the empire, apart from the provinces, like the present commands into which the country is divided. Single troopers got enlisted under the banner of some chiefs little richer or better known than themselves. These inferior leaders again joined greater commanders, and thus by successive aggregation of groups, a great noble's divisions was gathered together. Hence the military organisation was an important subject of the provincial government as it was of the central¹.

The Bakhshi who was the second in rank to the governor, as stated earlier, was usually the head of the provincial army. He was in charge of the military establishment stationed in the province. His assistants held yearly inspections of horses and reviews of soldiers according to the instructions received from the Mir Bakhshi. He issued warrants for payment to the Mansabdars serving the Province when an expedition was ordered. The Bakhshi saw to it that the various officers called upon to take part in it had the requisite number of men and horses under them. In consultation with the leader of the expedition, the Bakhshi looked after the needs of the army and was represented by his 'naib' in the expedition as well.

There were three different groups of forces in the provinces. Firstly, the contingents which every high official from the Governor downwards had to maintain in accordance with his mansab. This was, of course, a part of the regular standing army of the military empire. It was maintained more for the general service of the Empire than for

1. The Army of Indian Mughals-W. Irvine, pp. 57-58

2. The Central structure of the Mughal Empire-Ibn Hasan, pp. 124-126

that of the province. At first it was paid usually by assignments made to the 'Mansabdar' carrying an income equal to his salary. Later on the system of assignments was discouraged by Akbar and disburse-¹ments of salaries were made directly from the Imperial treasuries. Secondly, provincial army consisted of the contingents of certain minor zamindars who were called upon to render service at the time of war. The third group of local or provincial forces consisted of cavalry, infantry and other arms mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, as² the quotas allotted to Sarkars and Mahals, stationed under the Faujdars and petty Faujdars, details of which are given in Appendix-C.

So far as supply and transport were concerned there was no separate department for them. Other arrangements were also not adequate. For their baggage and camp equipment the 'Mansabdars' helped by the local authorities, made their own transport arrangements as best as they could. The provisions for the Mansabdars and their men were provided by the 'banjaras' who followed the army.

The regular army was primarily a housed army. The pay of mounted men included the cost of maintaining their equipment and horses. In the artillery which was entirely Imperial, administered as a department of the house-hold, and not of the army, the pay ranged from about three to seven rupees.

The infantry formed a miscellaneous crowd. It included musketeer and swordsmen among the combatant services, and spy guards, wrestlers, porters, sappers and miners, carpenters, water carriers and camp followers of various kinds. The remuneration of the first four categories ranged from 3 to 6 rupees monthly; that of porters 2½ to 3 rupees; of wrestlers from 3 to 15 rupees and of the rest from a dam to a rupee, ¹1/2. As to the significance of these rates it

1. Azana Amar .

2. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.II, Jarrett, PP.315-328

would be sufficient to note that the higher pay sanctioned for the cavalry was in part, at least an index to a difference in social position. Service in the Cavalry was respectable, and a gentleman could enter it, but the other branches of the army almost comprised of all the classes, even the menials, though a partial exception may be made in the case of artillery, in which foreign experts were employed in increasing numbers as time went on.

The so-called army indicated under the Subahs was in the nature of a militia and not a regular army. The figures in question represented in reality, general estimates of a sort of militia or the fighting manpower, which each province, sarkar or mahal was expected to be able to raise and supply to the government in time of need or whenever demanded to do so. The proportion of the contribution of cavalry of each locality was determined more by the material qualities than by the mere numerical strength of its population, and of infantry more by the numerical strength than by the material¹ qualities.

The position of the local cavalry was probably more regular; their distribution over the provinces corresponded roughly to the importance of 'zamindar' and it may be inferred that the forces enumerated under this head were of substantial military value, consisting of troops maintained by 'Zamindars' at their own cost but liable to be called in by the Emperor in case of need.

D. JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The redress of individual grievances was the duty of the² Mughal Emperor. For this purpose Mughal Emperors held their courts personally and also maintained some judicial officers. Akbar maint

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett, PP. 41-42
 2. In the practice of the executive.

ed judicial officers known as the Qasi and the Mir Adil but the extent of their jurisdiction was not clearly described. At any rate the litigation, both civil and criminal, as described by visitors was usually conducted before executive officers and very commonly before the Kotwal or city governor.

Judicial organisation does not seem to have made much progress. No record of proceedings, civil or criminal were kept, everything being done verbally; and no sort of code existed, except so far as the persons acting as judges thought fit to follow Quranic rules. The Governor of a province was instructed by Akbar to maintain a small account of witnesses and Oaths.

Certain aspects of the Mughal code deserve notice. It made distinction between first offenders and habituals. It sometimes gave the accused the opportunity of confessing his crime and expressing repentance for it and was then treated leniently.

The sentences on convicts were more of an appalling kind than customary in India. Capital punishment after torture was prevalent. The mode of execution included impalement, trampling by elephants, crucifixion, beheading and others. As minor penalties, mutilation and whipping of great severity were commonly ordered. The death punishment had usually to be confirmed by the Emperor. Akbar drew the line at the old Mughal practice of flaying alive and was disgusted where he inflicted that horrible punishment. Babar had ordered it without scruple. In actual practice even in the reign of Jahangir when that order was stated to have ^{alleged} ~~originated~~, one found provincial governors carrying it out on their own.

1. suspect a ey ea y wi ques ons ar s ng ou o
Muslim Law".(Moreland,P.34)
2. In judicial investigations he should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold enquiries by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight nor laying burden of it on others, live absolved from solicited. (Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Jarrett, P.37)
3. Mughal Government and Administration-S.R.Sharma,P.322

In the rural areas the maintenance of law and order was entrusted to the revenue staff. In important towns, however, a special executive officer was appointed, who suppressed crime by severe punishments, and this rendered life and property generally secure though wealthy criminals might escape on the payment of heavy fines, and the line between fines and bribes was not distinct. With the decay of authority armed gangs of robbers began to infest the neighbourhood of some of the principal cities, often with the connivance of the local governors who were benefitted both by the bribes they received from the robbers and by the savings in police expenditure. Litigation, both civil and criminal, was conducted before these very officers. Civil litigation was thus cheaper and speedy than it is now. Officers wisely paid little heed to witnesses or oaths and relied on their own discernment and knowledge of human nature.

1. The severe punishments on convicted bribe-takers, acted as powerful deterrent to corruption. A basket full of poisonous snakes was kept by Shah Jahan ready to bite such delinquents and even the easy going Jahangir was no respecter of persons when it came to administering justice. (India at the Death of Akbar-Moreland, PP. 34-37, 40-41)

CHAPTER - IX

RELIGIOUS POLICY

The Great Mughals founded their Empire with sword. At each important victory, Babar raised towers of human skulls to become a 'Ghazi' as well as to strike terror in the minds of the conquered people. Fanaticism was the dominant characteristic of the age in which Babar lived. Babar was the child of his age and it was mere chimera to expect religious toleration from him. He had inherited his religious policy from the Lodies. "In order to conform strictly to the Muslim law he excluded Muslims from paying stamp duties, thus confining the tax to Hindus alone." He, thus, not only continued, but increased the distinction between his Hindu and Muslim subjects in the matter of their financial burdens. It was difficult for Babar and his son Humayun to rise above the circumstances of the age. They did not follow an enlightened and liberal religious policy towards the Hindus.

We do not get any reference in the contemporary Muslim or indigenous historical works which may throw some light on the religious policy of Babar, Humayun and Surs, with particular reference to the Panjab. From Babar's occupation of the Panjab till the reconquest of India by Humayun in 1556, the Panjab had been the cockpit of various upheavals and during this period the government were unstable and hence no attention could be paid by the rulers towards religion.

Akbar's reign forms the dividing line between the old and the new methods of government which he was to make so successful. It was

only from 1562 that Akbar was his own master consulting whom-so-ever he liked but shaping his religious policy mostly according to his own will. When his reign began, it gave no sign of the opening of a new era in the religious policy of the Great Mughals. Almost, his first act of state was to earn religious merit and the title of 'Ghazi' by striking at the disarmed and captive Hemu, his¹ adversary at the Second Battle of Panipat. Akbar was not asked to whet his sword on Hemu because he was a rebel but because he was a Hindu. Akbar was a victorious soldier of Islam. Abdul Fazl asserts that the boy Akbar was wiser than his years and refused to strike a defenceless enemy.² But most other writers agree on the fact that he struck at Hemu and earned the title of the Ghazi.³

The popular attitude towards heretics and non-Muslims can be well understood from several incidents of Akbar's reign. In 1569-70, Mirza Muqim,⁴ son of Mirza Zu-ul-Nun, and Mir Yaqoob were executed at Lahore for their religious opinions. Feelings towards the Hindus could not be bridled. Abdul Nabi executed a Brahman for blasphemy on the complaint of a Qazi.⁵ Hussain Khan, the governor of the Panjab, who died in 1575-76, made his government famous by ordering that the Hindus should stick patches of different colours on their shoulders, or on the bottom of their sleeves so that no Muslim might be put to the indignity of showing them honour by mistake. Nor did

1. - Smi , .
- o .II, Beveridge, P.42
2. - Vo . , eridge, P.42
-Text, A.Yadgar, PP.263-264
-Vol.II, W.H.Lowe, P.17
3. -Vol.II, W.H.Lowe, PP.124-125
4. - - - o . , chman, P.463
-MS, P.318
5. -Beale, P.708
6. - - - . I, , PP. 403

he allow Hindus to saddle their horses but insisted that they should use patch saddles when riding.¹ Prior to 1593 some Hindus had been converted to Islam forcibly.²

When Kangra was invaded in 1592-73, even though Birbar³ accompanied the expedition as a joint commander, the Umbrella of the Goddess was riddled with arrows, two hundred cows were killed and Muslim soldiers threw their shoes full of blood at the walls and the doors of the temple.⁴

Akbar had to defend the appointment of his Finance Minister Todar Mall, a Hindu, by reminding his Muslim critics that they were all utilizing the services of Hindu accountants in their own households.⁵ The later sublimity of Akbar's conception, and the catholicity of his temper⁶ament and ideals were moulded by various influences. In his anxiety to do away with religious discord in the Empire he made an attempt to bring about a synthesis of all the various religions known to him and styled it Tawhid-i-Illahi. He thought it undesirable, therefore, that a comparatively young religion like Islam should be considered to possess the monopoly of truth and continue as the religion of the State. He established in its place, a religion of his own choice known as the Din-i-Illahi.

Even in the case of Din-i-Illahi, it was Akbar's policy not to impose his religion by force upon his subjects. It was, therefore, confined to the court circle, and had just a few thousand followers in its fold. After the establishment of the Din-i-Illahi and on account of his spiritual awakening that Akbar followed the policy of religious

1. - - - - - an

-Vol.II,-Lowe,,P.222

- - - - - I,B.De.,PP.338,407

2.Ab Fa , n Ain-i-Akbari and Abdul Qadar Badauni in Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.II,P.391, both agree on this point.

3.Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I,Blochman,PP.218,219,442-443

4.Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol.II,-Lowe,,P.162

5.Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I,Blochman,P.384

6.Akbar the Great Mughal-V.S.Smith,PP.221-212

toleration towards his non-Muslim subjects. He removed all restrictions from the public religious worship of non-Muslims. A Christian church was allowed to be built at Lahore and Thatta.¹ Akbar presented a golden Umbrella to the shrine of the fire goddess of Jawala Mukhi. It was but natural for a monarch who believed that there was truth in every religion and there was the same god every where, whether he be worshipped in a church, a mosque, a temple, or a synagogue, to treat all religions alike and to give the followers of every faith complete freedom of conscience and worship. Contrary to the practice which had existed since the advent of Islam in the country, Hindus were permitted to perform public worship and to preach their religion. Those Hindu men, women and children who were forcibly converted to Islam were allowed to go back to their ancestral religion, if they liked. "Being at this time seized with suspicions against some of the Mullah of Lahore, His Majesty ordered Qazi Sadr-ud-din, Lahori, a free thinker and other 'Mullahs' such as Abdul Shakar Quldar, Mullah Muhammad² Massum, and others, to be banished from the city." Christians were further allowed to build churches and proselytise Hindus and Muslims to Christianity.

Jahangir's accession had raised the hopes of orthodox Muslim Theologians for the restoration of Islam to the position which it had occupied before Akbar who had dis-established it as the state religion. They tried to convert the new Emperor to their views so as to persuade him to reverse the work of secularising the state that his great father had almost completed.³ The orthodox^{Muslims} seemed to have greater faith in Jahangir than in Akbar. Jahangir maintained Christian service at Lahore, at the expense of the court and paid allowance to Christian Fathers. He imposed no restriction on the public celebration

1. Annual Report of the Jesuit Mission for 1597 in Nagasaki, P. 77

2. Lahore-Muhammad Latif, P. 33

3. Muktubat-i-Mula-Ahmad Sirhindi, FF. 1, 2, 46

of religious festivals by Hindus and himself participated in some of these such as Basant, Raksha Bandhan and Dusshera. This was in vogue, of course, when he was at peace but when he made war on Hindus and Christians, these considerations were sometimes given up, as when Jahangir visited Kangra, he decided to celebrate the first Muslim occupation of this famous fort by desecrating the Hindu temple and glorified in it. The relations between the Hindus and Muslims in the time of Jahangir, on the whole, were however, cordial. This is evidenced from the fact that some of the Hindu shrines of Kangra and Muthra continued to attract a large number of Muslim pilgrims besides their Hindu votaries.

Jahangir, though usually liberal and tolerant towards all religions, at times sanctioned repressive measures against the Shias. Soon after Jahangir's accession, it was reported to him that Shaikh Ibrahim had been declared as a religious leader in the parganah of Lahore. He had gathered together a large number of Afghans as his followers. Jahangir ordered him to be brought before him; He was not able to satisfy the Emperor and was thereupon entrusted to Prince Parves to be imprisoned in the fortress of Chunar. Qazi Nurullah was put to death on account of his being a notable Shia writer. Some of the Muslim theologians complained to Jahangir against Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi, who had deputies and followers in every part of India, that some of his writings claimed to have risen to a status higher than those of the Caliphs. The Emperor thereupon called him from Sirhind and asked him to explain his position. The Shaikh was ultimately

1. - e . P .
-Text, PP. 161-1
2. - - -Text, P. 347

-Finch, P. 180

3. Son of Musa, e ro r o Shaikh Salim Chisti.
The Oriental Biographical Dictionary-T.W. Beale, PP. 116-117

4. ~~Musak-i-Jahangiri~~-Text, P. 218

5. He was introduced to Akbar by Hakim Abul Fatah, and had a great reputation for learning. When Shaikh Munin Qazi of Lahore retired he was appointed his successor (Lahore-Muhammad Latif, P. 42)

imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior, but he was released sometime after and sent back to Sirhind with gifts.

A Christian Church was built at Lahore during Akbar's reign.¹
 "Brahman and a Moor were converted at Lahore but in secret."² Jahangir not only tolerated Christianity, but he also patronised it well. The Christian Fathers were paid from Rs.3/- to Rs.7/- daily; occasionally he would give them money for their services, and once at least to mitigate the distress of the poor Christians by a monthly grant of Rs.50/-.³

Shah Jahan gave the real start to the trend that came to its full growth with his son Aurangzeb. He was an orthodox Muslim. He endeavoured to give his court an Islamic atmosphere. He abolished Sijada (Adoration), discontinued the Hindu practice of Tuladan, the celebration of Hindu festivals at Lahore and important towns of the Panjab. Hijri era to the state calendar was restored. He began to celebrate at his court the Muslim festivals of the Id, Shab-i-Barat, Milad and Bara-Wafat in orthodox Muslim fashion. While his predecessors used to have 'Tika' sign on the forehead from the Hindu Rajas at the time of their succession, Shah Jahan delegated this duty to his Prime Minister. He reimposed the Pilgrim tax on Hindus.

It was decided that only Muslims were to be recruited to the public offices, but this order does not seem to have come into force. Even in the thirty five years of Shah Jahan's reign, out of a total number of one hundred and forty one Mansabdars of about 1,000 to 7, still fifty two were the Hindus. Raja Rajrup of Murgur was one of them.⁴ In the revenue department besides the four provincial Diwans, ranking as commanders of one thousand or more, there were others occupying

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5. Son of Raja Jagat Singh of Murgur. (History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, PP.94,9)

aw ns, PP.

an ed by Payne, P.34

-Saq Mustad Khan, P.175

less exalted positions yet discharging equally responsible duties. Rai Sabha Chand was the Dewan of Lahore.¹ In the 12th year Rai Makand Dass was Diwan-i-Tan and Dewan-i-Bauytat. He served for sometime as the officiating revenue Minister in the 12th Year.² Rai Chander Khan was officer-in-charge of Dar-ul-Insha, the secretariat.

In spite of this the Emperor spared no effort to propagate and to establish the Islam in the Land of the Five Rivers. He ordered that the converted Muslim girls should be restored to their fathers and the Hindus who had married them must either pay heavy fines or become Muslims themselves.³ But it was discovered that his order had not completely stopped this system of conversion to Hinduism. Dalpat, a Hindu of Sirhind,⁴ had converted a Muslim girl, Zinab, given her the Hindu name Ganga, and brought up their children as Hindus. He had also converted one Muslim boy and six Muslim girls to Hinduism. Shah Jahan got exasperated at this persistence and defiance of his orders. To put a stop to this practice and warn all future transgressors against the law, Dalpat's wife and children were taken away from him. He was sentenced to death by mutation with the option that he could save himself by becoming a Muslim. Dalpat did not submit and was cruelly put to death.⁵

When the Sikh Guru Har Gobind took up his residence at Kiratpur District Hoshiarpur, he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims. Sometimes before 1645 "Not a Muslim was left between the Hill near Kiratpur and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan. The Mughals conquered Kiratpur in 1648 and it is possible they might have made some

1. O.I., A. Amir - ex.
2. - - -Vol.II, Muhammad Salhi Kambu-Text, P.304
-Vol. I, Abdul Hamid Lahori-Text, P.279
3. -Mirza Aminai Qazyni-Text, PP.405, 444-45
-Vol.II, Abdul Hamid Lahori-Text, P.58
-Vol.I, Khafi Khan-Text, P.510
Amal-i-Alhi-Vol. I, Muhammad Salhi Kambu-Text, P.64
4. History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, PP.224, 143
5. Amal-i-Salhi-Vol.II, Muhammad Salhi Kambu-Text, PP.246-57
Badshahnama-Vol.II, Abdul Hamid Lahori-Text, P.57

efforts in reconverting the people." If it was a fact it appears that the Emperor might not have noticed it or overlooked it.

During the days of famine in the Panjab in 1645-46 when people began to sell their children, Shah Jahan ordered that the sale price be paid by the State and the Muslim children be restored to their parents and Hindu children brought up as Muslims.² Towards the end of his reign, we actually find him restraining the religious zeal of Aurangzeb and over-riding him in many important matters. It must, however, be admitted that Akbar's ideal of a comprehensive state³ although, only partially, was gradually being lost sight of."

Here came about the anti-climax to the liberal trend of Akbar's times when Aurangzeb's accession completed the process of reaction. He was not satisfied with the doings of his father and restored Islam to its original position as the religion of the State and made a sustained effort to convert India into a Muslim country. First of all he discontinued all the Hindu festivals.

On April 9, 1669, it was reported to Aurangzeb that the Brahmins of Sindh, Multan and Banaras were using their temples as schools, which attracted students, Hindus and Muslims alike, from great distances. "Orders in accordance with the organisation of Islam were sent to the governors of all the provinces that they should destroy the schools and temples of the infidels and put an end to their educational activities as well as the practices of the religion of the Kafers."⁴

In a small village in the Sarkar of Sirhind, a Sikh temple was demolished and converted into a mosque, an 'Imam' was appointed there, who was subsequently killed by the Sikhs.⁵ Aurangzeb's relations with

... r... olers are silent about the fate of any such attempt."

2. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab-Vol.I, Khafi Khan, Text, P. 626

3. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab-Vol.II, Khafi Khan, Text, PP. 551-553

Alamgirnama Muhammad Kazim, PP. 388-409

4. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri-Saqi Mustad Khan-Text, P. 81

5. Kalimat-i-Aurangzeb-MS. Raza Library Rampur, P. 115

the Sikhs are dealt with under a separate chapter entitled, "The Sikhs and the Great Mughals".

Conversion to Islam was encouraged in diverse ways under Aurangzeb. The criminals who embraced Islam were acquitted, and high government posts were conferred upon the converts who were, besides, rewarded in many other ways. All kinds of pressure was exerted on the Hindu population in order to compel it to embrace Islam. The Islamic law of justice was tightened with a view to compel the non-Muslims to abandon their ancestral religion and embrace Islam. Thus under Aurangzeb the State became a vigorous missionary institution and utilized its power and resources for the propagation of Islam. The policy of religious toleration introduced by Akbar in the sixteenth century was completely given up during the later half of the seventeenth century and a countrywide conversion drive was let loose with concentrated fury at selected points, with the result that the Mughal Empire was socially disrupted with a universal loss of sympathy on the part of ^{The} Hindus. Disintegration and dismemberment had set in due to the relentless proselytizing zeal that Aurangzeb never ceased to evince till his death.

CHAPTER - X

SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

A. SOCIAL LIFE:- The Muslims were divided into four main classes. The first was the nobility or the 'Mansabdars' who were held in high esteem and held high posts in civil and military departments. Their income was very large but hoarding was alien to their nature and spending was their characteristic trait. These spendthrift aristocrats who were almost all Muslim lords, enjoyed a very luxurious life. "A noble must have required servants almost by the hundred if we reckon his household on approximately the scale indicated by Abul Fasal, allowing four men for each elephant, two or three to each horse, a crowd in the kitchen, two crowds of tent-pitchers, adequate transport torch-bearers, and all the other elements of a respectable¹ establishment."

This Muslim aristocratic class was divided into two sections. The first was of the foreign 'Amirs' who were further sub-divided into two classes:- First, Turanis who came from the north of the Oxus and were of the Sunni sect and second, Iranis, who came from the south of the Oxus and belonged to the Shia sect. The other section was formed by the native nobles who may also be divided into two sections, the Afghans, who outnumbered the Mughals and, the Indian Muslims, who² were born in India and were the Imperial servants and held high positions in civil and military departments. They were small in number but were highly paid and spent their earnings most extravagantly. They indulged in every kind of pleasure. Their greatest magnificence were

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-R.P.Khosla, PP. 226-229

their women quarters, for they had as many as three or four wives and sometimes even more. Alcohol was their common vice and many died of ¹intemperance. A true picture of this Muslim aristocracy is drawn by a contemporary European traveller in these words:-

"They spend all they have in luxury keeping a vast number of servants, but above all of concubines. These being many every one of them strives to be belov'd above the rest, using all manner of allurments, and caresses, perfumes and sweet ornaments. Sometimes to heighten their masters' lusts they give him compositions of pearl, gold, opium and amber; or else much wine that he may require company in bed. Then some drive away the flies, others rub his hands and feet, others dance, others play on music and others do other things; and hence it is that for the most part they take the lawful wife's place; who sitting near her husband modestly winks at this affront; till she has an opportunity to revenge herself. Those women are committed to the custody of eunuchs, but it is delivering up the sheep to the wolves; so lascivious are the women. And yet they are excusable, because the husbands, though they be peasants lie apart from their wives, and only ²call them when they have occasion."

³According to Moreland, this type of luxurious and voluptuous life led by the aristocracy adversely effected the economic condition of the country and the financial ruin of the aristocracy was imminent. It had also an important bearing on the economic life of the officials as well as that of the common people. "The provincial governors and other officials had in practice very wide powers, and when their resources were running low it was on the peasant and artisans that the burden fell, so that there is no reason to question the substantial truth of the picture which Burnier draws of the misery of the masses

at the end of Shah Jahan's reign.¹

The middle class of the Muslims was comprised of the professionals such as - scholars, religiousmen, lower officials, merchants and traders. De Laet, who visited the Panjab in 1631, wrote that "the people of this class were leading quite a comfortable and peaceful life. The economic condition of the merchant class was better than that of others. Although their average income was probably not large,² yet it was enough to meet their needs."

The lower class, or the Muslim masses, were the real sufferers for they were the workmen, the labourers, the farmers, the petty shopkeepers, domestic servants and all the other lower grade workers. Their condition was exceedingly miserable as ~~the~~ wages were very low. The workmen could hardly get a single meal a day, regularly. Their houses were wretched and practically unfurnished and they did not have sufficient covering to keep themselves warm in winter. They lived on a plane hardly above that of the animals for they were ill-clothed, ill-fed and had dirty huts without any furniture.³ Their children remained naked up to the age of twelve except for a loin cloth or a chain round their waist.⁴ Tavernier has depicted a moving picture of this class and write "By the way give me leave to tell you, that the country people have no other clothing than a piece of linen to hide their secret parts being miserably poor; for if their governors know they have anything about them,⁵ they seize it either as their right, or by force."

The Hindus were divided into their traditional four classes. The Brahmans secured their social supremacy by a compilation of customary laws known as the Code of Manu. Next to this superior and priestly class was of the Kshatriyas who were generally known as the military

1. Fe . . . 2
2. -De Laet (Hoyland), P.88
3. - ol. , an, PP.88-89
4. as araggi, in Panjabi language
5. Travels in India-J.B.Tavernier, PP. 296-297

class. The class third was that of the Vaisyas or the Hindus who t¹ed the herds, tilled the fields and carried on trade and the lowest class was that of Sudras or the menials. "Among the Hindus, who farm the great majority, the caste system existed substantially as it exists today. The Sikhs at that time were regarded merely as a sect¹ of Hindus". Bhai Gurdas, a great scholar, and a contemporary of Shah Jahan, has given a graphic picture of the caste rigidity and the mutual jealousies among the people of the Province. He writes that "The Hindus and Muslims are divided into four varanas; and into four sects; and, in self-conceit contempt, of each other and arrogance,² they enter into meaningless wringlings." Socially the Hindus were further divided into a number of castes and sub-castes. The main³ basis of diversity of caste was the diversity of occupation. The old division into Brahmins, Kashatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and the Mlechhas (outcasts) who were below the Sudras, was but a division into the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, the artisan and the menial; and the more modern development which substituted trader for husbandman as the meaning of Vaisyas. Thus sprang that tangled web of caste restrictions and distinctions of ceremonial obligations, and of artificial purity and impurity, which had rendered the separation of occupation from descent so slow and so difficult in Hindu society, and which collectively constituted what is known as caste. Circumstances had raised the Brahmins to a position of extraordinary power; and naturally; their teaching took the form which tended most effect-⁴ually to preserve that power unimpaired.

The Hindus formed the majority of the population. There were also many well-to-do chiefs among them. The lower branches of

1. India at the Death of Akbar-Moreland, P. 28

2. Varan-Bhai Gurdas-Vars, 1-21

3. Memoirs of Babar-Vol. II, King, P. 241

4. Panish Census Report-Vol. I, Ibbetson (1881), P. 235

A History of Politics-Edward Jenks (1900), PP. 61-65

Industry and Trade-E.M. Marshal (1919), P. 682

administration, specially the department of revenue and finance, were manned by them. The 'khuts' 'Chaudharies' and 'Muqaddams' were all Hindus. The principal merchants, businessmen and traders as well as petty shopkeepers were mostly Hindus. They had almost monopolized the banking and money-lending professions. The Hindu traders and money-lenders of Multan were well-known throughout India. Hindu 'banjaras' were attached to the armies, as, there being no regular commissariat arrangements, the provisions to the Mughal troops were supplied¹ by these hereditary nomad merchants. "Supplies were provided by huge bazzares marching with the camp and by the nomadic tribes of Banjaras, who made a profession of carrying grain to feed the armies. Monserrat was much impressed by the plenty and cheapness of provisions in the great camp on its way to the Indus."²

The lowest class of society during this period was that of the slaves and eunuchs. "Slavery was a recognised institution in Mughal India as it was every-where else in the world."³ Each of the Mughal officials kept a regular army of servants, wretchedly paid, with their wages often in arrears, and generally honest; yet still better off than the majority of the population on whom they preyed. Apart from these were the regular slaves, a class which was continuously recruited from prisoners of war, persons unable to pay the Government taxes, or who in famine times sold themselves or were sold by their parents for bread. Sometimes recurring famines resulted into heavy mortality, enslavement of children and horrible cannibalism.⁴ In 1646, scanty rainfall caused a famine in the Panjab. Shah Jahan ordered ten kitchens, for the distribution of cooked food to the established in the

1. -H.C. Vert L. re, P. .M. Thornburn (1886), P. 56
2. -S. th, P. 2
3. a ar P. 394
4. oreland, P. 266

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 province and Syed Jalal was commissioned to distribute ten thousand rupees to the poor and the destitutes. Children, who perforce, had been sold were ransomed by the government and restored to their parents. In February 1647, Shah Jahan sanctioned another thirty thousand 2 rupees for relief measures. The condition of slaves was the most condemnable, and unlike the time of the early Muslim kings, their progress was very restricted. However, the eunuchs were better off than the slaves since they were the personal and "Harem" attendants of the nobles, governors and the Mughal Emperors.

RELIGIOUS LIFE:- The Panjab witnessed more important changes in the religious life of the people, during the period under our study. At this time Sirhind was the centre of a very orthodox revivalism among the Muslims. It was led by Shaikh Ahmad-ul-Faruqi as Sirhindi, born 1563-64, had an orthodox Sufic order. He claimed to unite in him the spiritual powers of all the religious orders of orthodox Islam. He was acclaimed as a saint, the revivalist and a renovator of Islam of the second Millenium. 3 He aimed at purging Islam of all heretical accretions. Among other things he bent his energies and talents to destroy the growth of Shiaism and Din-i-Illahi.

Thus in the Panjab at this time were born two religious movements of great potentialities for good and evil; second being the Sikh religion which has been dealt elsewhere, in detail. Each on its own way profoundly influenced the religious and political life of the people of the Empire in general and those of the Panjab in particular.

Akbar's liberal and enlightened policy of religious toleration had made a healthy impression on Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The teachings of the Muslim Sufi-saints and the Catholic teachings of the Sikh Gurus had brought about a closer understanding between the Muslim

1., A d L, PP.
2. PP. 632
3. a adal Alf-i-Sani

and the Hindus and had thus loosened the ever present tensions of religious ideology and beliefs. "Of course, sometime this atmosphere was ruffled by the intolerant acts of the successors of Akbar or by the unsympathetic attitude of the high-browed Muslim nobles and the Qazis of the Panjab, yet, on the whole, the Hindus and the Muslims in the villages and the towns had begun to live as sons of the common¹ soil."

Hindus and Muslims studied side by side in the same schools without any restrictions; the study of Persian language was made compulsory in education at the initiative of Raja Todar Mal. The mutual exchange of words, thoughts and ideas, in art and literature, religion and worship and adoptions and incorporation in other fields had set. All these forces combined and cumulatively contributed to the cultural and social unity of the people during the reign of the Great Mughals. Each of the communities contributed to the literature of the other, enriching its vocabulary and ennobling its outlook in life and letter. All these forces, such as the tolerant religious outlook of the Great Mughals, free exchange of thoughts of the Hindu-Muslim Saints and Scholars, high ideal of brotherhood of mankind and fatherhood of a common God set before the people by the Sikh Gurus, while reacting on each other, brought the two communities closer merging them into a homogeneous whole. Some of the places of worship of the saints such as Farid Ganj-i-Shakar of Pakpathan, Shah Daula of Gujrat, Baba Lal o ² Dhianpur near Batala, Sakhi Sarwar of Dera Ghazi Khan and Guga Peer ³ who were common to both the communities, cemented all the more their social and cultural unity. The fairs and the festivals, dress, amusements and the customs of the people of the Panjab which are described below, rather elaborately, will throw some light on the social and

1. rp Singh arang,P.
2. Jadunath Sarkar,PP.99-100,88
3. .PP. . .

cultural life of the people of the Panjab of the Mughal regime.

The Great Mughals took much interest in social reforms. Akbar created administrative efficiency, and on humanitarian grounds, attempted to combine the religious and social practices even though this was objected to by the Hindu and the Muslim orthodox leaders. He discouraged child marriage¹ and permitted widow marriages² among the Hindus. **SATI**:-A Hindu widow (Sati) was burnt alive on her husband's pyre, whether according to or against her will, though a husband was never subjected to such a sacrifice in case his wife passed away. Guru Nanak had emphatically raised his voice and preached against this detestable practice among the Hindus; "A 'Sati' is not she who burneth herself on the pyre of her spouse." "Nanak: a 'Sati' is she who dieth with sheer shock of separation."³

Guru Amar Das prohibited the practice of Sati among his followers by persuasion. Akbar also prohibited Sati, he was, however, unable to eradicate it completely. In the foothills of the Himalayas, some of the Muslim converts had retained the Hindu customs of 'Sati' and female infanticide, Jahangir made these practices a capital offence. Shah Jahan also prohibited 'Sati' and Aurangzeb similarly issued an edict in 1664, forbidding this practice, but his government was powerless to enforce the prohibition everywhere in the face of popular opposition by the orthodox Hindus. Even then the Mughals had a considerable check over it. Burnier, an European traveller who stayed in

1. - - - - - o .I arre ,P.
- - - - - ol.II, W.H.Lowe, P.306

2. P.
3. -Suhi ki Var, P.787

4.
5. -Smith, PP.131,132

6." e ndu women were happy that the Muslims became the master of India, to deliver them from the tyranny of the Brahmins, who always desired their deaths, because the widows being never burnt without all their ornaments of gold and silver about them, and under the religious ceremony none except them could have the power to touch their ashes; who never failed to pick up all that was precious from the remains of the widows. However, the Great Mughals and other Muslim princes, had ordered their governors of the provinces to employ all their cares in suppressing that abuse" (Indian Travels of Trav-
spot & Careri-S.N.Sen, P.120)

India for twelve years, has given a vivid picture of this evil practice in these words "The Mahometans, (Mohammadans) by whom the country is governed are doing all in their power to suppress the barbarous custom. They do not, indeed forbid it by a positive law, because it is a part of their policy to leave idolatrous population, which is much more numerous than their own, in the free exercise of its religion; but the practice is checked by indirect means. No woman can sacrifice herself without permission from the governor of the province in which she resides, and he never grants it until he shall have ascertained that she is not to be turned aside from her purpose; to accomplish this desirable end the governor reasons with the widow and makes her enticing promises; after which, if these methods fail, he sometimes sends her among his women, that the effect of their reason¹ strances may be tried."

POSITION OF WOMAN:- The position of woman was not as high as it was in ancient India. No woman was allowed to enjoy an independent status. When unmarried, she had to be under the strict supervision of her parents, after marriage under that of her husband and after her husband's death under her grown up sons. The Sikh Gurus had raised the prestige of woman equal to that of man when they preached and prescribed to respect the female. Guru Nanak was a strong advocate of the cause of women whom the Brahmanical priest and society had reduced to a state of subjugation. "It is by woman that we are conceived and from her that we are born", said he "It is woman we befriend and it is she who keeps the race going....why call her low whom are born kings and great men?" Woman, he declared was not only inferior to² man but had equal status and responsibility before God.

'Pardah' system among the women of India existed long before the advent of the Muslims into India. According to Mrs. Frieda H. Dass,

it arose alongwith the division of persons into high and low castes and the seclusion of women became the hallmark of aristocracy. Mr.N.C¹ Mehta has further supported this view that it was, of course, untrue that Islam brought the Pardah into India. Seclusion of women could be traced in all ancient communities and it was particularly among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindu civilization. Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing² hall mark of gentility.

However, it is also entirely untrue that the 'Parda' system is of Indian origin. According to the Quran, the women can move about but they have to cast down their eyes and to conceal those parts of their body that are apt to excite passions, and not to display their ornaments.³ The Muslim women of India, did not enjoy the same privilege and position of the Arab women in India. They occupied a subordinate position, and were subjected to the will of their polygamous husbands. As any free born Muslim could marry at least four wives at a time, no woman in a Muslim household could claim to be the mistress of her house.

The women in ancient India were excluded from mixing with men. They did observe a certain amount of 'Pardah' by using a veil which now passes under the name of 'Chunghat' (covering one's face with a cloth) and at times it was quite as rigid, elaborate and institutionalized as it was during the Muslim Period on account of the meeting of different cultures. When the Muslims came into India, they brought with them their own ideas about 'Pardah', which they had borrowed from the Iranians in common with several other institutions.

1. - ad-N.C.M ta,May, 28

2. r a e ailed account please read:-

Ramayana Padma-Swarj 33, Sloka 197

Yudh Kandan-Swarj 114, Sloka 942

Hariyans Purana-Vishnu Paroh,Adhyaya,19

Kautilya's Arthshatra-Shama Shastri(Tr.),P.183

Ancient Hindu Policy-N.N.Law,P.144

3.Al-Quran-Chapter XXIV-Verses 30-31

The position of women under the Mughals can be summed up that the masses, consisting mostly of peasant women, moved about freely without wearing any veil or shrouds whatsoever; they did not live in seclusion and observed only 'Ghungnat'. The respectable ladies went about in litters called 'Dolis' which were carried sometimes by two sometimes by four Kahars (Doli bearers), accompanied by their male servants or eunuchs. The women of the middle class used Burqas or ¹lo garments, covering their heads and coming down to their anklets.

DRINKS:- The use of intoxicants, particularly the liquor, is prohibited in Islam, but in defiance of the Quranic injunctions, Upper Class Muslims were intemperate and were fond of wine. The religious heads, the Ulama too were not free from this evil. The Pathan kings were addict^{ed} to opium and poppy seeds drink. All the Mughal Emperors drank heavily except Aurangzeb, and it was but natural, that the subjects should follow their rulers. Jahangir, though he himself drank wine, prohibited the drinking of wine and ³Shang, and suppressed gambling⁴ altogether.

DRESS:- The influence exercised by the Mughals in transforming the national dress of the Panjab was of no mean order and a marked change was wrought out in it. Gradually the people of the Panjab inculcated a liking and preference for Muslim costume because it was the dress of their new masters. In compliance with certain rules and the etiquette of the Mughal Darbar and courts, people had to adopt the Mughal costumes which were prescribed for official and ceremonial occasions and gradually the use of such dress became a fashion with them.

The Mughals had a special taste for cotton and silk and they preferred these fabrics to flimsy gauze like stuffs which were in fashion with the native aristocracy. The nobles bound their beards

1. - - -
2. - - - Vol. I, Jarrett, pp. 340, 360, 369, 391-92
3. - - - Vol. I, RAB, p. 73
4.

with a scarf called 'Romali' and they tied round their waist a cubit long white cloth with a red border. They also wore a white wrapper above that.

These garments were presented by the chiefs to the Emperors as "Nazrana" (offerings) and were also often bestowed by the latter upon the high officials of their court as robes of honour. This was one of the reason on account of which all these garments gained popularity among the people and in course of time, became the popular dress of the Mughal period. These garments remained in vogue till the advent of the British rule and even later. A complete costume of the period is given below:-

1. The Takauchiya - A coat without lining, of the Indian form. Formerly it slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side. Akbar had ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side. It required seven yards and seven girihs, and five girihs for the binding. The price for making a plain one varied from one rupee to three rupees; but if this coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from one to four and three quarters rupees. Besides a 'misqal' of silk was required.
2. The Peshwas - A coat open in front was of the same form, but tied in front. It was sometimes made without strings.
3. The Dutahi - A coat with lining, required six yards and four girihs for the outside, six yards lining, four girihs for the binding, nine girihs for the border. The price of making one varied from one to three rupees. One misqal of silk was also required.
4. The Shah-ajida - The royal stitch coat or Shast-Khatt (for sixty rows) as it had sixty ornamental stitches per girihs. It had generally a double lining, and was sometimes wadded and quilted. The cost of its making was two rupees per yard.
5. The Suzani - Required one fourth seer of cotton and two dams of silk. If sewed with Bakhiya stitches, (back stitching) the price of making one was eight rupees; and that with ajida stitches cost four rupees.
6. The Qalmi - It was prepared from cotton and silk, and required three fourth of a seer of cotton. The cost of making was two rupees.
7. The Qaba - which was generally called jama-yi-pumbadār, was a wadded coat. It required one seer of cotton and two mashes of silk. The price was one rupee to a quarter-rupee.
8. The Qadar - was a coat wider and longer than the Qaba, and contained more wadding. It required seven gas of stuff, six yards of lining, four girihs binding, nine for bordering, two and half seers cotton, three mashes silk. Price was from one half to one and one half rupee.

9. The Farji - It had no binding and was open in front. Some put butt to it. It was worn over the coat and required five yards, twelve girihs stuff; five yards and five girihs lining, fourteen girihs border one seer cotton, one masha silk and the price was from a quarter to one rupee.
10. The Fargul - It resembled like "Yapanji" i.e. a rain coat, but was more comfortable and becoming. It required nine yards and six and a half girihs stuff, the same quantity of lining, six mashas of silk and one seer cotton. It was made both single and double. The price was from one half to two rupees.
11. The Chakman - It was made of broad cloth, or woollen stuff or wax cloth, which was very light and petty. The rain could not go through it. It required six yards stuff, five girihs binding, two mashas silk. The price of making one of broad cloth was rupees two of wool and rupees one and a half of wax cloth.
12. The Shalwar (Drawer) - It was made of all kinds of stuff, single, double and wadded. It required three yards, eleven girihs cloth, six girihs for the hem through which the string ran, three yards and five girihs lining, one and a quarter masha silk, half seer cotton and the price was from four annas to eight annas.¹

The trousers worn by the people during the pre-Islamic period made room for the 'Pajama', a more stylish and close fitting garment and later it took the shape of 'Shalwar' tied by string with ^{tassels} tassels at the waist. The high heeled slippers were substituted by the heelless ones and the so called 'Jamah' (coat) became a part of the usual court dress which in the early Mughal period reached down to the knee but later went all the way down to the ankles. The 'Nadri' wear was invented by Jahangir, which was a robe of honour usually granted to some of his favourite courtiers. Turban (Pagri) was the greatest contribution of the great Mughals to the people of the Panjab, and it became the favourite head dress.

The dress of the middle class and the other people was very poor. In the case of soldiers, labourers and ordinary men, it included a piece of cloth for the head and a string tied round the waist with a cloth about the size of a napkin (a Langoti) hiding the private parts. Babar has described this dress in a contemptuous term in his memoirs.

It is very difficult to describe minutely the dress of the noble women, because they lived in a strict 'Purdah'. The paintings of most of the eminent ladies of the Mughal court are not found or are lacking in details. However, it is evident from the portrait of Nur Jahan that she wore close fitting trousers and a bodice coming down to the end of the 'shalwar'. The female dancers dressed themselves in full skirts of the flimsiest material with a long lacy 'Sari' and a tight fitting bodice with long sleeves.

The ordinary women's dress consisted of three garments, the legs up to waist were covered with 'shalwars' generally known as 'Suthans' (Pajamas) or petticoats (Chagra). On the body was worn the short jacket called Kurti or choli or a longer jacket known as Kurta or Chola. The head was covered with a 'Chaddar' or 'Dopatta' which was wrapped round the body also. It seems that the use of 'Sari' and Petticoat was also continued by the women. The girls, like boys, had not much to wear, even up to the age of twelve.

ORNAMENTS:- The use of varied and profuse jewellery for extra ornamentation was in vogue. The 'Kamarband' an ornament for the waist was commonly used by both the sexes. For the rest it may be mentioned that almost every part of the body on which some one or other ornament could possibly be fixed or hung, was fittingly adorned. Anklets, bracelets and armlets rivalled necklaces, collars and girdles, since the former added to masculine vigour. The nose ring is a Muslim contribution to Indian women's face ornaments. The Muslims made earrings much lighter but more brilliant and valuable than before. The use of betel or pan, to colour the lips as well as to sweeten the breath and of henna to colour the palms, nails and finger tips of hands as well as nails and soles of feet of women became common. The henna was also used to dye grey beards, moustaches and hair. The children of the rich wore gold or silver bells and chains round their waists. The shoes of the nobles were of velvet or red leather and

they took off their shoes when they entered the palace.

FOOD:- The upper classes and particularly the Mughal nobles used to take very rich diet. It is said that a large number of dainty dishes were taken both at lunch and at dinner. Meat of different varieties and of various tastes was prepared daily. Fresh and dry fruits were freely consumed. Drinking was very much prevalent in those days. Tobacco and ice were also used by the people. But the food of the lower classes and particularly of workers and peasants was very poor. It consisted of dry bread which was taken either with cooked pulse or vegetables or butter and milk. "When they eat it, they stir it with the ends of their fingers in melted butter which is the usual food of the soldiers and poor people." ¹ says Tavernier, However, the diet of peasants and workers might have been some Chapatis, a lump of Jaggari or an onion and pickle (achār), some pulses and vegetables. It may be added that the use of butter milk (Lassi) was common.

AMUSEMENTS:- There were many amusements and pastimes in which the Mughal Emperors took great interest and their example was also followed by the people of the Panjab. Of indoor games, 'Shatranj' (Chess) and Chaupar, the games played with dice or kowaris (shells) on a piece of cloth or board, were very popular with the aristocrats and commoners alike. Fine arts, such as music, dance and painting were other indoor entertainments, which were popular with the people. As regards the outdoor recreation, the great Mughals showed special interest in hunting, chariot racing, pigeon flying gladiatorial combats, elephant fights, and swimming. Chougan (Polo) and cock fighting were also very popular. Gambling was also a source of recreation. The 'Chandal-mandal' was another amongst the popular outdoor pastimes and even the women joined their men in revelry with freedom. 'Qamargahs' was the greatest amusement of the Mughal Emperors. The important

aspects of the social life of Muslim India were Raza and Baza or warfare and social intercourse respectively.

FESTIVALS AND FAIRS:- Temperamentally, the people of the Land of the Five Rivers have been extremely fond of fairs and festivals. The crystal clear water of the rivers and the cool bracing breeze of the Himalayas and the hot sun shine of Jeth and Har (May and June) bring about a metamorphosis in the minds of the people. From times immemorial the people of the province have felt the impact of many cultures and, thus, gradually acquired a lively disposition, vigour and sportive nature. The people of no other part of the globe celebrate their fairs and festivals with as much ecstasy and enthusiasm as the people of the Panjab.

Varied fairs and festivals were held in different places of the Panjab, but Dewali, Dushehra, Basant Panchmi, Lohri, Ram Naumi, Rakhi, Baisakhi, Shivratri, etc., were very old Hindu festivals and were celebrated in every corner of the province. The Muslims had their own festivals and, thus, the number of such celebrations had increased enormously. The religious toleration of the Muslim Sufis contributed the similitude of Hindu and Muslim festivals. Hindu festivals were always accompanied by a great bustle and noise of merry makers and revellers who played music.

Because of the liberalism and monastic propaganda of the Sufis and also on account of the eagerness of the Muslims to participate in Hindu festivals, the Hindus began to take part in Muslim festivals viz:- Id-ul-Fitar, Id-ul-Zahra, Nauroz, Shab-i-Barat and Muharam, and began to find pleasure in them. Akbar the Great, imparted grandeur to the festivals and fairs of the Hindus and the Muslims, when he ordered their celebration by the government dignitaries as well at the behest of His Majesty. The description of festivals and fairs

rejoicings.

The city of Lahore was the centre of these festivities on all such occasions whenever the Emperors were there. The loveliness of all the buildings there was enhanced by gorgeous and tasteful decorations and by extensive illuminations. The courtiers and other dignitaries of city used to appear in splendid garments under a spacious canopy with deep fringes of gold. The Emperors who wore diamonds, pearls and other precious stones, too, added to the splendour of the occasion. In the absence of the Mughal Emperor, the governors of Lahore used to participate in these festivals with all the zeal.

The Muslims and Hindus wearing gorgeous dress assembled with the set intention of making merry. There used to be stalls of sweetmeats, children's play things, toys, fruits and eatables of every conceivable variety. The swings (Jhulane) were a common feature there. The jugglers entertained the multitude with their performances; the acrobats, snake charmers and other necromancers displayed their skill while fiddlers, harpers, pipers, drummers, performers on the guitar and other musical instruments contributed in no small degree, to the pleasure of the audience.

All these festivals were celebrated all over the Panjab. Baisakhi was celebrated at Amritsar, Kartarpur, Eminabad and at all other important towns situated on the river banks. The people celebrated all these festivals with the same zeal and grandeur in small towns and villages as their counterparts did in the cities. In the rural areas alms were distributed to the faqirs and free kitchens were started with the funds voluntarily contributed by the people to provide meals to those who came from distant places. This practice of voluntary contribution of funds developed into offerings in honour of the Muslim or the Hindu saints, on their shrines, where

the festivals or the fairs were held.¹

B. ECONOMIC LIFE

AGRICULTURE:- During the Mughal Period, the main source of the wealth of the Panjab was agriculture. Natural fertility of the soil, adequate rainfall and the availability of other irrigation facilities combined together to bring on top this province from the point of view of agricultural production. Land yielded so much that not only the requirements of the province were met, but foodgrains were also exported to other parts of the country.

Panjab's superiority in the field of agriculture was primarily due to the fertility of the soil as well as the abundance of rainfall. However, besides the natural factors, human contribution could not be ignored. The interest showed by the Mughal Emperors in effecting improvements on the means of irrigation and giving impetus to the adoption of better methods of cultivation played no less part to make Panjab the granary of India. Although in some parts of the Panjab, rainfall was fairly sufficient, others did not have this benefit. Similarly fertility of the soil varied from place to place. To be more precise, hills and sub-montane tracts of the province had sufficient rainfall but it diminished rapidly as the distance from the hills increased; so much so that Muzzafargarh and Multan Districts had only five and seven inches of rainfall respectively. In the words of Babar

1. Travels in the Mughal Empire-Burnier, PP. 268-270
Storia-de-Mogor-Vol. II, Manucci, PP. 348-349
Travels in India-Vol. I, (Tr. Bell), Tavernier, PP. 379-381
The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors-S.R. Sharma, PP. 81-82

"Many though its towns and cultivated lands are, it nowhere has running waters. Even where, as far as some towns, it is practicable to convey water by digging channels, this is not done. For not doing it there may be several reasons, one being that water is not all a necessity in cultivating crops and orchards. Autumn crops grow by the downpour of the rains themselves; and strange it is that spring crops grow even when no rain falls. To young ~~trees~~¹ water is made to flow by means of buckets or a wheel. They are given water constantly during two or three years; after which they need no more. Some vegetables are watered constantly." The Mughal Emperors took upon themselves the responsibility to provide irrigation facilities in the areas where rainfall was insufficient. Besides digging canals and channels, they encouraged the sinking of wells. We shall discuss these measures in detail later.

During the period which preceded the advent of the Mughals, there was no efficient revenue administration and the prosperity of the cultivator was dependent on the goodwill of the king. The revenue was arbitrarily assessed at the time of each harvest and it was collected with severity. The belligerent forces destroyed the crops. But the Mughal rule provided the cultivators an atmosphere of comparative tranquillity. The Great Mughals considered that the prosperity of the country directly depended on the prosperity of the cultivators. Armies were strictly forbidden from destroying the standing crops, and they were not allowed to commit any transgressions while marching through the country. The cultivation in the Panjab completely recovered from its decadent condition of the Sultanate period. Many a village and town cropped up.

IRRIGATION:- As mentioned above, the Mughal Emperors took great interest in the improvement of irrigational facilities to the cultivators.

Waste land was reclaimed, wells were sunk, tanks were constructed and four canals were opened to give an impetus to agriculture. Munshi Sujjan Rai writes that "Near Shahpur have been taken out of this river (the Ravi) a royal canal which goes to the garden of Shalamar in Lahore, a second canal which goes to the pargana of Pathan (Pathan a third which goes to the Pargana of Batala and a fourth which goes to the Pargana of Biarpatti, (Haibatpur Patti). These canals do good to the crops of the mahals." Among other methods of irrigation, there were the Persian-wheels which drew water from the wells by means of a chain of earthen wares fastened to a rope. This method of irrigation was very much prevalent when Babar conquered India. The Great Mughal always aided the peasants for digging such wells or to sink tanks. Generally, in all the places of habitation there were the common pastures of the agriculturists and there was no difficulty in feeding the cattle.

The agriculture of the Mughal Panjab, however, was handicapped in its human contribution. The weaker stamina of the peasant, devitalised by under-feeding and the frequent famines gave recurring set back with the result that improvement was not commensurate with the interest taken and efforts made. In the matter of the methods of cultivation, the quality of the seed and the use of improved type of implements, therefore, not much headway was made. It is in this context that Moreland wrote, "India did not experience between 1600-1900 an agricultural revolution such as in some other countries

1. aduna Sarkar, PP.1 10

2. In Lahore, Dipsa pur and those parts, people water by mean of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the wheel, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close (qash) to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere." (Baburnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.496)

coincided with the adoption of a policy of enclosure, or followed on the development of the modern ocean borne commerce...The changes since Akbar's time have indeed been numerous, and some of them have been important, but they have not sufficed to transform the system as a whole even at present. The plough and the ox, the millets and rice, the pulses and oilseeds and the whole tradition of the country side link us with the sixteenth century and with earlier times in the history of the people."

The land was cultivated by small holders, the substantial capitalist farmer being practically non-existent. Agricultural labour was generally immobile. Poor as the peasant was, there was little to tempt him away from his village, so long as his village could supply his food. There was also a large number of landless labourers who were practically serfs, tied to the land, in a condition of periodical slavery to the cultivators who fed and clothed them in return for their labour.

CROPS GROWN:- The Spring harvest of the Suba of Lahore produced, wheat Cabul Vetches, Indian Vetches, Barley, Adas, Safflower, Poppy, Potherbs, Linseed, Mustard seed, Arzan, Peas, Carrots, Onions, Femungreek, Persian Water Melons, Indian Water Melons, Cummin and Ajwain and the Autumn harvest produced, Sugarcane (paundah), Common Sugarcane, Dark coloured rice, Common rice, Kalt, Mash, Cotton, Moth, Gal, Turiya, Arzan, Indogo, Hinna, Hemp, Potherbs, Kacharah, Pan, Singharah, Jowari Lahdarah, Kodaram, Mandwah, Sesame, Shamakh, Mung, Kori and Turneric.

1. India at the Death of Akbar-Moreland, P. 101

"Thevenot who visited India in 1666 A.D. has given the contemporary picture of the province of the Panjab about the agricultural produce. He says "Lahore (Panjab) is one of the largest and most abundant provinces of India; the rivers that are in it render it extremely fertile, it yields all that is necessary for life, rice, as well as corn and fruits are plentiful there, there is pretty good wine also and the best of all Indostan."

2. India at the Death of Akbar-Moreland, PP. 7-14, 9, 401-407

The Indian Village Community-Badan, Powell, P. 274

3. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Jarrett, P. 119

The Spring harvest of the Suba of Multan produced, Wheat, Cabul Vetches, Barley, Adas, Safflower, Poppy, Potherbs, Linseed, Mustard seed, Arzan, Peas, Carrots, Onions, Fengreek, Persian musk melons, Indian musk melons, Cumin, Kur rice and Ajwain. For the purpose of cultivation the Panjab was divided into revenue assessment circles, details of which are given in Appendix-B.

FORESTS:- The forests of the Panjab, were of two categories, the forests of the plains and those of the hills. For the most part the forests of the plains were mainly known as dry forests, growing in tracts of scanty rainfall and poor, sandy and often salt-impregnated soil. In these forests the characteristic trees were the tamarisk or frash, the leafless caper or karil, the jand, the van and a few acacias of the species known as kikar and babul. Forests of this type interspersed with large treeless wastes, occupied extensive areas in the Lahore, Montgomery, Multan, Chenab, Jhelum and Shahpur Districts. In the Central Panjab, large tracts covered with dhak (*Butea frondosa*) were common. As these forests approached the hills, became richer in species and gradually blend with the deciduous forests of the lower Himalayas, while to the south and west they gave place to the deserts of Rajputana and Sindh. On the banks and islands of rivers and wherever water was near surface, the sheesham often became gregarious. The Shisham (*Dalbergia sissoo*) and other thornless trees were planted on sides of the roads and other paths.

The Saltra (*Shorea robusta*) was found in the small submontane forest of Kalesar in Ambala, in the Bilaspur state and in a few scattered areas in Kangra District. The rocky hills of the Salt Range and Kata-chitra were in parts covered with an open forest, in which the Olive (*Olea cuspidata*) and the Phulai (*Acacia modesta*) were the principal trees.

The hill forests fell into groups classified by their elevation. Below three thousand feet were composed of scrub and bamboo,

which were mainly found in Kangra District. Between two thousand and five hundred and five thousand feet of elevation the Chil-pine (*Pinus longifolia*) was the principal tree. These forests were mainly found throughout Kangra, Kohuta tahsil of Rawalpindi District and in the lower portions of the valleys of Kulu, Bashahar and the Bilaspur stat. Between the elevation of five thousand and eight thousand feet occurred a true zone of the valuable deodar tree (*Abies webbiana*), the spruce (*Picea Morinda*) and trees of various deciduous species.

Unlike today the Panjab under the Great Mughals was full of forests, as the cultivation was not carried out based on scientific methods like today; hence the forests were grown in abundance. The Great Mughals had to take special measures to protect the people from the robbers who always took shelter in those thick jungles. At least there were two such forests in the Panjab which were always the places of refuge for the lawless and the rebels such as Lakhi jungle situate in the Sarkar of Dipalpur and the other Kahnawan in Gurdaspur District. Munshi Sujjan Rai writes about the former that "In the rainy season, the rivers Biah (the Beas) and Sutlej reach the mahal of this Sarkar and extend broad and deep for leagues together over the surface of the land, and all the parts of this territory are submerged, the deluge of Noah seems to be acted again here every year. When the water subsides, so many jungles spring up all over this land, owing to the great moisture and dampness, that a pedestrian has great difficulty in travelling. For this reason, this country is called the Lakhi jungle. The wicked men of this plain, owing to the assistance of the river (which flows in many streams by the dwellings of the inhabitants of these tracts) and the shelter afforded by the impassable jungle, which is in leagues in length and breadth, become ambuscaders, high-

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 2. e o pa pur- t cal with the Modern Montgomery
 District

waymen, and thieves. The hand of the Imperial commanders cannot reach¹ the chastisement and destruction of these people². As regard the Kahnuwan, it was also a great sporting place for the Mughal Emperors and the nobles. This was called 'Chhamb' which runs almost the whole length of the tahsil of Gurdaspur from Pandori Bainsan on the north of Bheri on the south, close under the old high bank or 'dhaia', as it was locally termed.³

These forests were a great source of enjoyment for the Great Mughals, which they used as hunting grounds. There were many more hunting places in the Panjab where the Mughal Emperors held regular 'qamargahs'. In 1566, Akbar, while staying at Lahore organised a grand battue, when fifty thousand beaters were employed for a month⁴ to drive in all the game within a space of ten miles in circumference⁵. It was again in May, 1578 when Akbar was encamped at Bhera, situated on the left bank of the Jhelum when in such a forest 'qamargah' was arranged, "in the course of which the game within a circumference of about forty-fifty miles was to be ringed in by a multitude of beat-⁴ers." This tradition was followed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The nobility had made hunting all the more a fun and such hunts had become very popular in the Panjab.⁵

All these forests were regarded as fuel and fodder reserves and some closed forests were opened to grazing in times of draught.

G. TRADE

When the Arabs stopped the transshipment of goods through the

1. -Su an ,
- ol.IX,P.492
2. t was e mar es of Kahnuwan that the first Chalu-ghara (Bloody Carnage) of the Sikhs took place in 1746, when Yahiya Khan, the governor of Lahore had over taken the Sikhs, seven thousand were killed and three thousand were taken prisoners.
3. Akbarnama-Vol.II, Beveridge, P.411
4. Akbar the Great Mughal-Smith (1962), P.113
5. Travels in India-Tavernier, P.297

Red Sea in the seventh century, the trade once again had to be diverted through the Black Sea, Harat and Kabul. This was a welcome opportunity for the traders not only to rehabilitate their economy, but to open up new markets for their merchandise in India. As a result of this there was a phenomenal increase in trade and important commercial centres like Constantinople and Kabul became the hub of activity and also the headquarters for soldiers of fortune. Qandhar Pass witnessed a continual flow of trade into India and in fact became a sort of commercial artery pumping goods from the countries in the north to as far down as Lahore.

The second route which passed through Multan and Qandhar linking up India and Persia had been established during the Arab conquest. Now both the routes began to be exploited to their fullest capacity. But considering the difficulties and restrictions which traders had to face in those days of highway robberies, open and unashamed violence, poor means of transport, and insecure lines of communication, it is indeed surprising that so many merchants and traders were still abroad on these routes the year round. These pilgrims of profit symbolised a commercial daring which in those days was a rare phenomenon.

There was yet another route which linked India with Tibet and western China. It ran through the Panjab and Kashmir, and carried a vast section of trade. However, the king of Tibet, realising the potential dangers of a long and indefensible trade route decided to seal it off. The invasion of his country by Shah Jahan had brought home to him the idea of paralysing these trade channels. Meanwhile internal trade continued to flourish along the traditional rivers and road routes, practically in the same way as during the Hindu times. The Muslim kings particularly the great Mughals had of course given a kind of solidarity to these commercial transactions, with the result

that the Imperial capital of Delhi and the provincial metropolis like Multan and Lahore expanded. The main internal routes of the Panjab which were in vogue during the reign of the Great Mughals are dealt with, elsewhere, under the caption "Important Trade Routes".

Naturally with the acceleration of trade, these commercial centres which housed from a quarter to a half million people, became in due course, show-windows of the East. There was an unparalleled concentration of wealth, in a few cities which provided an incentive to many a western adventurer. The capitals continued to attract the wealth and skill from the outlying areas, denuding other commercial towns and centres of talent and knowledge. That is why during the period of the Great Mughals the importance of those smaller centres dwindled for they were progressively impoverished.

A large variety of articles such as cotton, silk, woollen fabrics, beads, yarn, indigo, salt, sugar, opium, borax, lac, sealing wax etc., constituted Indian exports whilst the imports consisted largely, of horses, luxury goods, curious and fabulous which the Mughal rulers, devoted to dalliance and ostentatious display, loved to acquire. Lahor and Multan thus emerged as the important bustling centres of trade and ¹commerce.

Despite all the progress, commercial expansion was, however, seriously restricted. As was common the world over, thefts and highway robberies were the order of the day. Conveyance was effected by means of pack-animals, as the roads were not fit for vehicles, while the danger of theft and violence was usually too great to permit of the passage of small or unprotected convoys. Merchants were, therefore, accustomed to wait at the recognised starting-points until a sufficient number had gathered to form an effective caravan, one which would be able to resist attack. They had to wait for a considerable long time. Henriquez, for instance, having missed a caravan at Multan, found he

would have to wait six months for the next. Fortunately for him, a noble man with a large following was setting out for Iran, and he was able to join the party. It is thus clear that ordinary mercantile caravans were few and far between, as indeed was commonly the case in large parts of western Asia at that time. Isphani, the author of Haj Baba, has given the real picture of that age more clearly.

No lonely road was safe, trade caravans were set upon and life was held cheap. The majority of the road guards or watchmen were above reproach but were unable to cope with the menace. However, ¹ of them stooped to blackmail, even illegal levies by the local governors were the order of the day. The merchants could in no way lessen the extent and nature of these underhand taxes, of course, to recoup their losses, they charged exorbitant prices for these goods, but in the long run the traders and producers of commodities continued to suffer. This had, to speak generally, a crippling effect on trade and industry.

The situation was further aggravated by the gratuitous incursions of the agents of the governors into the field of business. Merchandise was suddenly forfeited at uneconomic prices, leaving the bewildered traders in a quandry. By any means the system of state levies was neither uniform nor just. Some traders who had influence could always contravene or by-pass local laws. Thus, the entire trading enterprise was uncertain and irrational. Prices were determined on an ad-hoc basis and therefore fluctuated according to the vagaries of ² fortune.

As regards the internal trade, Panjab was self-sufficient in almost every respect. It had always enough to spend in and to send

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oreland PP.6-9 2-14,21-50
er Maine (1878),

2. Village Communities in the East and the West-Summer Maine, PP.118-119

out. The 'Banjaras' carried on the business of conveying the surplus produce from one Sarkar to another Sarkar of the province on a fairly large scale. It is not possible to give an exact estimate of the volume of internal trade, but a fairly correct idea can be conveyed by saying that villages under their respective headquarters of the Sarkars, with their Mandis (markets), were brisk centres of trade¹ where exchanges of commodities took place in peaceful times. The trading castes were the Khatris in the centre and the north, the Banias in the east, and the Aroras in the west. The village trader was the collecting and distributing agent, but he almost always combined money with shopkeeping. Nearly every cultivator was his client, and to him much of the agricultural produce of the village was handed over at a low price, to liquidate debts which had sometimes accumulated for generations.

D. INDUSTRY

The produce of the villages i.e. food and clothes was mainly consumed by the villagers themselves. Even the towns depended for most of their supplies on the country surrounding them. Agricultural manufactures were essentially primitive. The preparation of flour and wheat was, in general, a purely domestic undertaking. Gur (Molasses) was extracted from sugarcane, in village presses and furnaces of the type which are still generally prevalent, in the Panjab. The neighbourhood of Lahore produced a costly form of 'Gur' known as cand²

The biggest industrial centre in the province was Lahore. The factories of Lahore turned out many masterpieces of workmanship. Shawls of special texture, 'Mayan' and carpets of superior quality were

1. PP. 1.
2. It who visited India in , however, has mentioned as below with regard to the manufactures in the province of the Panjab. He says, "There are in the towns manufactures not only of all sorts of painted clothes, but also of every thing else that is wrought in the Indies, and indeed according to the account of my India it brings in to the great Mughal above thirty seven millions a year which is a great argument of the fruitfulness."

prepared at Lahore in addition to arms and ammunition. "Lahore is by far the largest city in the east" says De Laet, who visited Lahore in 1531. According to Munshi Sujah Rai: "Bajwara¹ near Hoshiarpur, was famous for its cloth, especially for salts of Adhars, deriah, panch tolia, Jhona white Chera, and gold embroidered fotas. At Sultanpur, in the Jalandhar Doab, were manufactured Chhint, dolai, and embroidered clothes of a fine order, embroidered cloth, especially baftas, chariah fotah, sezani, adoka, table clothes, tray covers and small tents and weapons such as the Jamadhars Katari and lance. At Gujrat were manufactured swords, Jamdharas, and embroidered cloth. A species of horse resembling the Arab was also reared there some of them selling for a thousand rupees each. Near the salt mines of Shamasabad, trays, dishes, lamps and other fancy articles of rock salt² were made.

Oil pressing and cotton ginning were carried on by the primitive methods which are still to be seen in villages. Spirits were widely distilled from sugar by primitive methods, in spite of repeated edicts issued by the Mughal Emperors. Forests and jungles were numerous and consequently villagers generally had a better supply of fire-wood and timber than what is now possible. Iron and copper continued to be worked in the Himalayas, but the prosperity of these industries depended on the local supply of fuel for melting. Salt was mined in the salt ranges, and was taxed like everything else.³ Handicrafts generally were characterised by variety and skill rather than economic importance. Many of the craftsmen who catered to the tastes of the ruling classes at Lahore or Delhi showed skill and industry, but the production was not sufficient and a large part of value of their products was due to the cost of the material rather than

t t e
1. Sarkar, P.

2. .
3. -Moreland, P. 175

of the metal and wood work by the small demand for furniture. Leather working was not a prominent industry, shoes being not so commonly worn. Saddles were mainly made of cloth and the halters of rope. Horses were seldom used as beasts of burden.

Paper was made by hand and this was carried on in the jails. "Good paper is manufactured in this town (Sialkot), especially the Mansinghi paper and silken paper of very good texture, white, clean and durable. These are exported in all directions¹ Brass had replaced earthen ware, but the number of the potters caste who later took to agriculture testifies to the relatively greater importance of the industry at that time. The ships and boats used in the Indus and other rivers of the Panjab were manufactured at Lahore.²

Building as an industry was not popular at all. The ruling classes occasionally spent vast sums on small mud forts, mosques and tombs which were allowed to go to ruin by their successors. They lived for the most part rather in tents than in palaces, craftsmen were paid meagre salaries and were liable to ill treatment by the ruling classes and such conditions were bound to act as a deterrent to the production of superior quality of work. Textile industries were more important, as evidenced by the large number of the weaver caste. Silk stuffs were widely worn by the upper classes, and the fashion of the times prescribed an extensive wardrobe for any one who desired to move in good society. Silk weaving was carried on at Lahore, where Akbar, who had a special liking for it, established an imperial workshop. But here again the industry was handicapped by the poverty of the workers. Though each man worked for himself, he was financially dependent on a middle man, who advanced the price of the raw material and took over the finished articles at his own valuation, leaving the worker a scanty

Ja. Sar, P.
of India-XII, P. 452
- o . , Blochman, P. 110
2. - Moreland, P. 167

livelihood. The degradation of the artisan was to some extent retarded by the Imperial workshops, but generally speaking the actual producer in industry, as in agriculture, had to live on a miserable pittance; the main profit of his work being as bordered in the one case by middle-¹man, as in the other by the money-lender and the state official.

The condition of skilled artisans in the indigeneous industries such as carpet-weavers,² leather-workers, brass-workers and other such professions was not satisfactory. The capitalists in some trade centre safeguarded their interests by a trade practice, according to which, when an artisan left one employer for another, the second employer was held to be liable to the first to the extent of all advances received, and the thralldom of the artisan to the second employer was maintained. The hereditary nature of many caste industries, and the tradition of preserving the trade secrets within the trade caste was another impediment in the way of the uplift of this class.

E. MINERALS

Abdul Fazl makes a mention in Ain-i-Akbari of copper and iron mines at Mandi and Suket now in the Himachal Pradesh. Copper was ^{smelted} melted in considerable quantities in various parts of the Outer Himalayas in Kulu, where a killas-like rock persists along the whole range, and was known to be copper-bearing. Veins of galena and of copper pyrites occurred in the Lower Himalayas in Kulu and in Simla Hill states; and stibnite was found in the Shigri in the valley of the Chandra river in Lahul.

Iron was found in Kangra District at several points along the Dhola Dhar (the white range) in the form of crystals of magnetic oxide of iron imbedded in decomposed and friable mica schists. The supply was

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2. ar, PP.
-Moreland, PP. 160-66, 185-189
-Trevaskis, P. 137
-Moreland, PP. 177-78

practically inexhaustible. Iron mines were also worked at Kot Khai in Simla and in the Hill states of Jubbal, Bashahr, Mandi and Suket.¹ Sirmur area possessed several iron mines, but these were not worked owing to their inaccessibility.

There were quarries at Bakli in Mandi, near Kanhiara in Kangra District, and throughout Kulu, which turned out a good quality; and Salt mine at Dhankot on the Indus; at Makhiala and Shamasabad.² But Munshi Gujan Rai Bhandari mentions the later places only and he gives a long account of the rock of salt near Shamasabad and the names of the best mines i.e. the modern Kheera Mines. The beds of salt, of the Salt Range from which the range derives its name, occur in the shape of solid rock on the slopes of this table land, and from the largest known deposits in the world. The mineral was quarried at the village of Kheo a few miles north-east of Pind Dadan Khan, at Murpur in Jhelum District at Warcha in Shahpur District, and at Kalabagh in Mianwali District.

We learn from Ain-i-Akbari that the merchants purchased rock salt from the mines at $\frac{2}{5}$ to $\frac{9}{8}$ pies a maund, the lord charged a royalty of four annas on each porter of salt, i.e. on $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, and the state levied a duty of $11\frac{1}{2}$ pies on every maund. Thus, a maund of salt at the pit mouth cost in all from five annas $1\frac{1}{2}$ pies to five annas $8\frac{13}{15}$ pies, a little less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas on an average was the cost price of rock salt in Akbar's reign.

There was also a quarry of sweet lime in this region, says Gujan Rai Bhandari.³ In Jammu there was a mine of tin. Gravel was taken from the stream Tavi and by setting it on fire, tin of unparalleled whiteness, hardness and durability was made. In some places in the northern mountains there were mines of copper, brass and iron, which also yielded revenue to the Mughal government. In certain rivers, especially the Beas and the Jhelum, gold was obtained by washing sand or panning.

1. On the S. S. from P. an t. I. s a pos or fa e w
Ladakh and Yarkand

2. Shamasabad and Patyale (Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Jarrett, P. 402)

3. Ibid. P. 93

4. India of Aurangzeb-Jadunath Sarkar, P. 101

CHAPTER - XI

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

The Muslim rulers attached great importance to education. Their Prophet had taught them that it was better to educate one's child than to give gold in charity. To every Muslim, the attainment of knowledge is ordained by religion. Hazrat Muhammad had said "Knowledge should be sought from the cradle to the grave and should be acquired even if has to go to China."

Most of the Muslim monarchs and also the Mughal Emperors, were great patrons of learning. Their love of learning is quite evident from the fact that their courts were adorned with scholars of great erudition. Although during the reign of the Great Mughals, there was no regular department of Public Instruction, yet there is evidence to show that they had a department which looked after religion and education. The educational institutions were particularly looked upon with respect and liberally subsidized. There were great centres of learning such as Lahore, Uch, Thatta, Sialkot, Batala, Dipalpur, Pakpattan, Multan, Samana, Sunam, Jullundur, Sirhind, Ambala, Thanesar, Panipat, Sultanpur, Bajwara and also some small centres spread all over the Panjab, where thousands of people thronged to quench their thirst for knowledge. Sometimes large enough grants were set apart to run these educational institutions by the Mughal Emperors.

The Mughal Emperors opened schools in various parts of India and sought to supplement their achievements by extensive patronage of literary work. There are hardly any appreciable records to give the detailed information about these schools, colleges and seminaries run by the Mughal Government in the Panjab. The Mughal Emperors not only

encouraged the study and cultivation of higher art, literature and philosophies by their liberal grants and rewards to the deserving men but also founded a good many schools and colleges, and gave adequate endowments for their upkeep in addition to the regular grants by which the religious schools in the mosques and in the houses of the 'Qazis' were maintained in every town and village. It was also due to their efforts for the cause of the spread of education that the paper was first introduced into India from Samarkand, where there was a big manufactory of it, and a number of factories were set up in India, the chief being at Sialkot. This was indeed one of the most material contributions made by the Great Mughals to the progress of education in India.¹

Babar and Humayun did not have much time to take up the cause of education as their reign mostly remained unsettled. However, they patronised all the chief centres of learning which existed before the advent of the Great Mughals. Sher Shah Suri also established a school at Narnaul.²

Akbar was deeply interested in the promotion of education to which he had given special impetus, especially during his fourteen years' stay in the Panjab from 1585 to 1598. Not only were the educational institutions provided with renowned professors, but the entire system of education was reformed. "We see in Akbar, perhaps for the first time in Muslim history, a Muslim monarch sincerely eager to further the education of Muhammadans and Hindus alike. We also notice for the first time the Hindus and Muhammadans studying in the same schools, and colleges."³ Persian was made a compulsory subject for all. Female education was not neglected. Akbar laid down some very definite instructions as to the method of teaching in schools in order to save

1. -S.M.Jaffar, PP. -
 2. e Re o e Ar aeological Survey of India-Vol.XXIII, Cunningham, P.27
 3. Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule-N.N.Law, P.160

the great waste of time involved in the methods which were then in vogue. The teachers were called upon to teach their pupils first by practice in writing and then by making them commit to memory some moral sayings and precepts. Abul Fazl says that "care is to be taken that he learns to understand every thing himself; but the teacher may assist him a little."

The following subjects were prescribed by Akbar as essential for every one to study according to the needs of the times; (1) Morals and Social behaviour. (2) Arithmetic. (3) Notations of numbers. (4) Agriculture. (5) Mensuration. (6) Geometry. (7) Astronomy. (8) The Science of foretelling. (9) House hold. (10) Rules of Government. (11) Medicine. (12) Logic. (13) The Tabi (Medical), Riyazi (Mathematics) and Ilahi (Science of Divinity). (14) History. Those people, who studied Sanskrit were required to study (1) Grammar. (2) Philology. (3) Logic. (4) Vedant and Patanjali. In fact during the Mughal period, education was diffused through three-fold means (1) Schools (2) Mosques and Monasteries and (3) Private houses typifying three forms of education viz., University, Primary and Domestic. All the above-mentioned subjects were compulsory for the University scholars studying in big centres.

The initiative taken by Akbar had provided a scope for individual and private enterprise also. In the reign of Jahangir there were schools in almost every village and town, which were certainly not government aided. They had come into being through local and private efforts. Moreover, education was afterwards considered quite outside the scope of temporal activities. It was a profession reserved for religious recluses who imparted it free or at nominal charges. "There was also in Lahore a Mission school started by the Fathers under the patronage of the government for giving instruction to the sons of the nobles."

The same trend continued during the reign of Shah Jahan rather with more vigour and education flourished like any other thing in the Panjab. Institutions conducted by Muslim holymen mushroomed during this period in most of the towns.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, education in the Panjab continued as before. Muslim schools were prominent because they enjoyed the royal grants and other privileges, whereas the non-Muslim schools had to depend on their private meagre resources due to Aurangzeb's staunch religious policy. Nearly all the Muslim schools used to be connected with mosques, where teaching of the Quran was the main subject. They also gave instruction in the Persian classics. In Aurangzeb's¹ days, Sialkot and Thatta became all important centres of education. According to Munshi Gujan Rai, 'the city of Thatta was famous for learning Theology, Philology and Politics, and both the cities of Sialkot and Thatta had above four hundred schools and colleges for² training up young men in those parts of learning.'

There existed separate 'Maktabs' for the education of girls, but usually they received their education in the same schools where the boys did, of course, up to the primary standard when sexual consciousness had not yet awakened, and after that they were segregated from them and given their education either privately or in the schools specially provided for them. The daughters of the nobles were given higher education in their own houses by learned ladies or old men of tried morals employed for the purpose. After acquiring primary education in the 'Maktabs' meant for them or at home, the girls used to be further educated by some elderly ladies of proved piety in

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-P. Saran, PP.

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adunath Sarkar, PP. 453-455

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rasad, PP. 12-16, 17-21, 63

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-Saxena, PP. 237-258

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2.

adunath Sarkar, PP. 96-97

domestic science, i.e., cooking, spinning, sewing and looking after the young. Proper arrangements were made for the instruction of girls in house-hold affairs and the subject loomed largely in curriculum¹ designed for them.

Technical education was given in Karkhanas (workshops) of apprenticeship. The boys who did not attend a 'Maktab' or a 'Madrasa' were sent to these workshops for receiving necessary training in arts and crafts. The trading classes maintained their own schools for the instruction of their children in the rudiments of the three R's and made suitable arrangements for the promotion of their knowledge in business and accounts. Such schools have survived even to our own times. The fact that arts and crafts, industries and commerce flourished abundantly in Muslim India points to the existence of a good system² of technical education.

A. PERSIAN AND ARABIC LITERATURE

³ Samana was considered to be the greatest centre of Muslim learning before Babar appeared in the Panjab. This place was called the Mecca of India because it happened to be the residence of some renowned Arabic and Persian scholars. Here the Muslim edicts were finally expounded. Languages, other than Persian and Arabic, were usually neglected and it was to the development of these two that the Sultans of Delhi contributed greatly. With the appearance of the Great Mughals on the scene a great renaissance occurred in the field of education, in which other languages besides Arabic and Persian were encouraged enormously. The credit of this renaissance goes to Akbar, who wanted to be the king of all Indians and thus treated all languages at par

1. Education in Muslim India- S.M. Jaffar, PP. 187-188

Present Day Problems of Indian Education-Zahir-ud-din Ahmed, (1435), PP. 23-

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India-Vol. IV, P. 436

3. Seventeen miles south-west of Patiala. Samana was formed a province by Ala-ud-din Khalji, like the province of Lahore and Multan. (History of India-Vol. III, Elliot and Dowson, P. 115)

and contributed greatly to the development of all languages. The reign of the Great Mughals is called the golden period of the Persian language. Every scholar of Arabic was adept in Persian.

Persian literature of this period may be placed under four heads viz., (1) Translations from Sanskrit (2) Poetry (3) History (4) Commentaries and other works. Many Muslim scholars, poets, teachers and commentators who did a lot for the all round development of Persian literature flourished during this period. Amongst others the following names may be mentioned with distinction.

(1) Raja Todar Mal:- Raja Todar Mal was a Tandon Khatri of Chiniot, in Jhang District, 22 miles from Lyalpur, a town of considerable antiquity, believed to have been founded about the time when Lahore came into being. He was the most trusted man of Sher Shah and later joined the service of Akbar, under whom he earned a great name as a general, a statesman, a financier and a reformer in revenue administration.

Raja Todar Mal was the first patron of Persian language in the real sense of the word, and gave it regal status for the first time in this country. The most important reform introduced by Todar Mal was the change in the language and the characters used for the revenue accounts. Previously these were maintained in Hindi by Hindu Muharrirs. Todar Mal ordered, in 990 A.H.(1582 A.D.), that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers - a circumstance which stands a good comparison with the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian, therefore, became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Raja Todar Mal was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. His

mastery over Arabic is established from the fact that he used Arabic words and phrases spontaneously in his work entitled Khazin-Asrar wherein he has quoted idiomatic phrases from the Al-quran. In his work Khazin-Asrar, the Raja displays a wonderful flight of imagination and the style is libre and ornate and exhibits mastery over the art of composition. His second work in Persian was Todran. He also translated Bhagvad Puran into Persian and his last work was Risala-dar-Fan-i-Siaq, a treatise on arithmetic.¹

(2) Sayyid Abdullah Sultanpuri:—Abdullah was the resident of Sultanpura generally known as Sultanpur Lodi which is now a town in Kapurthala District. He was the greatest scholar of Arabic and Persian of his age. He was famous for his learning and accomplishments, and became celebrated under the title of Shaikh-i-Islami in the reign of Islam Shah and enjoyed the surname of Makhdum-ul-Mulk in the reigns of Humayun and Akbar.² He died in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.).

Abdullah was a scholar of Asul (فقه), Fiqah (فقه) and History. As regards his works he wrote Ismat-i-Anbiya and a commentary to Shemail-ul-Nabi in Persian.³

(3) Sa'adullah Khan:—Sa'adullah Khan was Thaim by caste and a resident of village Pitarki, in Chiniot, in Jhang District. His father was a Jat and the family lived in great privation. At an early age he came to Lahore and lived in mosques where he prosecuted his studies. After some years he went to Delhi where he got further education from some great scholars of the capital. He attracted the attention of Shah Jahan, who raised him to the rank of the chief Dewan of the State. To quote Ibn-i-Hasan, "Sa'adullah Khan was decidedly the most learned, the most efficient and the best Divan of Emperor Shah

1. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai-Text, pp. 408-410

2. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai-Text, pp. 66, 373, 7

3. Bazm-i-Taimuriya-Sayyid Sabah-ud-din Abdur Rahman (1948), p. 92

Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Jarrett, pp. 172, 614

¹ Jahan.² His works which were mainly based on intellectual reasoning³ are not available these days.

(4) Sujan Rai Bhandari:- Sujan Rai Bhandari, a resident of Batala, District Gurdaspur, was a great scholar of Persian prose. He wrote, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* in the 40th year of the reign of Aurangzeb corresponding in 1107 A.H. (1695-96 A.D.) and spent two years to complete it. It is written in elegant Persian, replenished with metaphors and quotations of appropriate verses. As regards the subject matter the book may be divided into three parts:

- (a) The Geography of India during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.
- (b) The History of the rajas of India from the time of Judhishtar Pandu to the reign of Rai Pishaura.
- (c) The History of the Muslim Emperors from the time of Nasir-ud-din Subuktagin until the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh is probably the first ancient history, wherein the narrative of the Muslim Emperors has been written by a Hindu. The description of the Panjab and references to the Sikhs⁴ form a very valuable part of the work.

(5) Chander Khan Brahman:- Chander Khan was born at Lahore and was a man of great literary attainments. He was a poet of Persian and his pen name was Brahman. He entered the service of Mir Abdul Karim, the superintendent of buildings at Lahore and later joined the service of Amir-ul-Umara Afsal Khan. He presented his best work *Chahar Chaman*, on the festival of Nau Roke at Sirhind to Shah Jahan, for this the Emperor honoured him with the high title of Munshi-us-Zaman. His main works are:- (i) *Chahar Chaman*, (ii) *Munshiat-i-Brahman*, (iii) *Guldasta*, (iv) *Tuhfat-ul-Anwar*, (v) *Karnama*, (vi) *Tuhfa-ul-Fusha*, (vii) *Majma-ul*

2. مآثر و مقولات Maaqat and anqu
3. *Basm-i-Taimuriya*-Abdur Rehman-1948, P. 212
4. *History of India*-Vol. VIII, Elliot and Dowson, P. 5

Pusha, and (viii) Tuhfa-ul-Awad.

Chahar Chaman is divided into four parts, the first gives certain public events of Shah Jahan's reign, the second describes contemporary India, the third records some personal anecdotes of his life, and the fourth includes some wise saws, his autobiography, and some letters of his own. Insha-i-Brahman represented a very popular collection of letters giving useful information about the reign of Shah Jahan.

Chander Bhan Brahman was a poet possessing tolerant disposition and wide outlook. He could write both prose and poetry with equal elegance. If credit can be given to any Persian writer for having absorbed and reproduced the style of Abul Fazl, undoubtedly it would go to Chander Bhan. His work Chahar Chaman is an outstanding instance¹ of what ornate and embellished prose can be.

(6) Abdul Hamid Lahori:- Abdul Hamid Lahori was born at Lahore but later had settled at Thatta. He was the student of Abul Fazl and thus picked up his very style. He was a sound scholar of Persian prose whom Shah Jahan appointed as Court Historian probably in 1643. Shah Jahan wanted a comprehensive history of his reign to be written after the style of Akbarnama, of Abul Fazl. Abdul Hamid was already on the decline of his age when he undertook writing of Badshahnama popularly known as Shah Jahan-nama and completed it on November 9, 1648. He died on August 30, 1654.

Lahori's Badshahnama covers the first twenty years' of Shah Jahan's reign. He adopted the style of Abul Fazl. The real value of this work lies in the second part, which records the events of the² second cycle.

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1. Chahar Chaman-Chander Bhan Brahman, 4th Chapter
Basm-i-Taimuria-Abdur Rahman-Text, (1948), PP. 308-311
History of Shah Jahan-Saxena, PP. 254-55, 267
 2. Badshahnama-Vol. I, Abdul Hamid Lahori-Text, P. 10
Basm-i-Taimuria-Abdur Rahman-Text, (1948), PP. 318-319

(7) Kamal:- Sialkot was a great seat of learning and there was a college in which very learned teachers of Persians and Arabic imparted education on all subjects and the students were attracted from far and near to join. It was on account of the reputation of this 'Madrasa' that Maulana Kamal, getting angry with Husain, the governor of Kashmir, came to Sialkot in 971 A.H. (1564 A.D.) and joined the college as a teacher and taught the students. Kamal was a master of Persian and Arabic both and was a very good speaker.

(8) Mullah Abdul Hakim Sialkoti:- Mullah Sialkoti was a great scholar, author and commentator. For sixty years he gave instruction to the people and his fame for learning spread throughout India. He wrote many works in Persian which have become rare, rather almost extinct. He was a great Philosopher and Theologian. His chief works are commentaries on Byzavi Mukaddimat Arba'talaya, Mutawal, Shah Moafique, Shamsa, Akayad Mullah Jalal and Hikmal-ul-Ain. He died in 1656.

In the words of Gujan Rai Bhandari, "The Mullah was the most accomplished of the accomplished, the most perfect of scholars, the manifestation of the upright nature, the ocean of the waves of learning and perfection, the man of unrivalled accomplishments and beneficence - spread learning still further. By writing marginal commentaries on some books, he interpreted the meaning of difficult passages. The pupils who joined his blessed school from far and near, attained too many accomplishments. When he passed away, that leader of the men of God and guide of the creatures of the Deity, Maulvi Abdulla, the second son of the saved soul (Abdul Hakim), engaged himself in increasing the glory of the school and in guiding the pupils. He made his internal virtues match his external learning and his religious poverty the close associate of his scholarship. As he promoted sweeter manners and acted as the guide of all classes of men, this great man was sur-named 'the Imam of the Age.' He passed on to the Eternal world in the 36th year of Alamgir's reign (1682 A.D.)."

(9) Mullah Jami Lahori:- Jami Lahori was a great poet of Persian. He was a teacher also, but unfortunately his works are not available anywhere.

(10) Munshi Har Karan:- Munshi Har Karan, son of Mathra Das Multani,

1. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Gujan Rai Bhandari-Text, P. 78
 2. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Gujan Rai Bhandari-Text, P. 78
 3. Basm-i-Taimuriya-Abdur Rahman, PP. 213-214

had compiled his famous work "Insha-i-Har Karan", between 1624 and 1630. Its chief interest lies in its presenting official forms of Letters of Appointment thereby throwing light on the functions of different officials and Mughal administrative practices. It is written in Persian prose.

There were many more minor Sufi saints who were primarily great scholars of Persian and Arabic, and were controlling various seats of learning (Khanqahs). They learnt and taught these languages and preached Islamic Theology. In the theory of knowledge they discarded the ultimate authority of reason, and made direct realisation, like the Samadhis of the Hindus, the proof religion. Like the Hindu Philosophers, they argued that through ordinary means of knowledge man can know only the relative, and as God is absolute, he cannot gain any positive knowledge of His qualities or nature. He must, therefore, depend upon revelation - prophetic or personal - to obtain that knowledge. They further taught that it was possible to know God because God's nature was not different in essence from that of man, and that the human soul partook of the divine and would after death return to its divine source. This was the theme of the works of the Sufi poets who wrote in Persian poetry and prose during the period under our study. The writer has spared no effort to find out their individual works in various libraries such as The Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library Bankipur, Patna, National Library, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Panjab State Archives, Patiala, and the National Archives of India, Delhi, but all in vain. Consequently, their names only can be given below such as Syed Muhammad, Kamil Shah, Shaikh Husain, Shah Shams-ud-din, Mian Natha Shah Abul Ma'ali, Mian Mir, Maskin Shah, Shah Charagh, Khawaja Haji Jamal, Shah Dargahi, Shah Sharaf, Shah Anayat Qadri, Muhammad Ghous, Abdulla Shah Baloch, Ali Shah Qadri, Shah Kaku and Muhammad Salim, (All residents of Lahore). Shaikh Shams-ud-din, Jalal-ud-din, Shaikh Shibli,

Abdul Karim, Shaikh Imam, Nizam-ud-din and Shah Ali (Panipat), Shah Ahmed and Jalal-ud-din (Thanesar) and Shaikh Muhammad Qadir (Batala), and Bullahe Shah (Kasur). All of them richly contributed to Persian literature.

The Panjab has remained unrivalled for the number of its Sufi shrines, which could be seen everywhere situated at distance of about a mile or two from one another. There was hardly a shrine which did not possess some traditional verse of its own. It was noble, pious, and sweet poetry which inspired search of Divine Love, and cemented the Hindu-Muslim unity. With the lapse of time, the Sufism and the Hindu Vendanta ultimately met at one common target of their communion with God, and it was the common vehicle of spiritual approach to God that brought them nearer to each other.

Guru Nanak was a pioneer in patronising Persian, who gave place to a few hymns in Persian in the Adi Granth. Guru Gobind Singh wrote Zafarnama in pure Persian. Bhai Nand Lal 'Goya' wrote 'Diwan-i-Goya' in Persian. It is a solid proof of the contribution of the Sikhs if proof were needed to Persian literature and openly refutes the charge of Dr. Sayyid Abdulla who says "The Sikhs did not contribute to Persian but only patronised Panjabi."¹

Arabic was the religious language of Muslims. To contribute to its development was incumbent on every pious Muslim. In order to attain salvation it was necessary for a Muslim to learn Arabic, because without learning this language, it was not possible for him to read the Quran. During the reign of the Great Mughals, great stress was laid on the study of the Quran. It was commented upon and translated by many persons. Maulana Abdulla Sultanpuri as stated above was a² great scholar of Arabic.

1. Adibat-i-Farsi Men Hindon Ka Hissa, P. 186
 2. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh-Vol. III, PP. 147, 346, 351
Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, P. 352

B. URDU LITERATURE

The real contribution of the Great Mughals is the Urdu language. Urdu is a Turkish word which means a military camp. It is a matter of common knowledge that people in a military camp hailing from various parts of the country and speaking different languages and dialects blend themselves into one unit and after a long association among themselves, they adopt one another's words and phrases ultimately leading to the creation of a new language. Urdu language, a product of military camp is thus a mixture of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Hindi and some other languages. It is a common spoken dialect, that emerged as a consequence of contact between the foreign Turks and other Central Asian Muslims on the one hand and the Indians on the other hand during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) or a little earlier. But it remained in a fluid condition for nearly two hundred years and attained the status of a written language during the reign of the Great Mughals. It was originally called Zabari-Hindvi (the Indian language) and subsequently got the name of Urdu.

While determining the origin of Urdu and the reasons for its coming into being, various critics have expressed *different* views. According to Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad, it emerged from Brijbhasha dialect of Western Hindi. Hafiz Mahmud Shirani author of the "Panjab Men Urdu" holds the view that Urdu grew out of contact between Panjabi and Sindhi on the one hand and Persian on the other. But Dr. Masud Husain of Aligarh University has recently propounded a theory that the spoken language of Delhi in the early days of the Sultanate was Haryana. For the first time, Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar collected Hindvi words for the repetition of God's name (Zikr). Many a Muslim mystic rendered into this mixed language some popular works of love and romance. The saints of the Bhakti movement also contributed greatly to the evolution of Hindi - Urdu language. Like the Sufis they made use

of Hindvi as the medium of their expression and not Sanskrit which could not be understood by the common people. Gradually this language developed into a literary form and assumed the title of the lingua-franca of India. "Originally it was an offspring of Hindi Prakrits but under a long and sustained influence of spoken Persian its vocabulary gradually softened itself until it came to acquire the present form and texture." According to another quotation "the influence of Persian education on the Hindus soon showed itself, in the language of the people. A new dialect formed itself, the language which we now-a-days call Urdu or Hindustani. The share of the Hindus in the formation and perfection of this new dialect is, we believe, greater than historians and scholars are generally willing to admit. The origin of Urdu and the time in which it arose, will appear in a new light when viewed in connection with the progress of the Hindus in the study of the Persian language; and the question which has occasionally been put, why did not Urdu form itself before seems to us completely answered." It is when one of the great results of this mutually reciprocal understanding and intercourse, facilitated by the liberal educational policy of Muslim Kings, was the creation of a new language, Urdu-the off-spring of Persian and Hindi.., which in course of time superseded its parents and became the lingua-franca. That it is foreign to the soil and must be got rid of on that score, is wholly erroneous and betrays an utter ignorance of Indo-Islamic cultural history. The real place of Urdu in the culture of the country is admirably set forth by a fair-minded Hindi scholar in the following words "Almost every work in Indo-Persian literature contains large number of words of Indian origin, and thousands of Persian words became naturalised in every Indian vernacular language. The mingling of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words and ideas with languages and concepts of Sanskritic origin is extremely interes-

ing from the philological point of view, and this co-ordination of unknowns resulted in the origin of the beautiful Urdu language. That language in itself symbolized the reconciliation of the hitherto irreconcilable and mutually hostile types of civilization represented by Hinduism and Islam.¹"

The intellectual, commercial and social intercourse of the various communities coupled with the hearty welcome of the Hindus made Urdu a very popular language of India. The language, developed by the combined efforts of both Hindus and Muslims, can now boast of a fairly wide and varied literature of its own both in poetry and prose. It is a common heritage of both the communities and it would be equally² unfair for either to subject it to a step-motherly treatment.

The following Urdu poets of the Panjab contributed a lot towards the development of this language. Maulana Muhammad Afzal of Panipa who died in 1616 (1035 A.H.) wrote 'Bara Mah' generally known as Mukat-Kahani; Shaikh Usman of Jullundur was a famous poet of Urdu, was the contemporary of Shah Jahan. Munshi Wali Ram wrote one Masnavi in Urdu. Nasir Ali Sirhindi was a poet of fame; Muhammad Afzal Lahori wrote poetry and Shaikh Abul Farj was a well known Urdu poet. Muhammad Fazil of Batala was born in 1668 (1079 A.H.) and wrote about forty books in Urdu and Persian. Musa was the contemporary of Muhammad Fazil of Batala and Shaikh Muhammad Nur of Batala was another Urdu writer who wrote Munajat. The works of these poets are almost extinct and thus cannot be commented upon.

G. PUNJABI LITERATURE

Earliest phase of Punjabi literature synchronises with the

1. anuary P.
2. I ve always looked upon Urdu not as a language and as a medium of culture - as a common heritage of both the communities (Hindus and Muslims)" - Rt.Hon.Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru "Urdu is a language of polite intercourse. It is heritage to whose present-day vitality and richness both Hindus and Muslims have contributed" - Hon.Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai.

times in which the modern Indian group of Indo-Aryan languages was shaping itself into distinct independent languages. This period may be treated as spread over eighth to middle of fifteenth centuries. A major part of the literary product of this period has been irretrievably lost to posterity, partly thanks to political uncertainties of the times and mainly because of the vandalism of the invading hordes from north-west. Many a missing link still remain to be provided to fill gaps in the literary history of this period. The subtle beauty of the literary composition of Shaikh Farid (1173-1236 A.D.) most explicitly envisage the presence of what Dr. Mohan Singh calls "a pretty long Pre-Nanak Age of Panjabi Literature."¹

A perusal of the works of Guru Gorakh Nath (940-1031) and many of his followers like Charpat Nath, Chaurangi Nath and Ratan Nath who thrived in Northern India during ninth and tenth and eleventh centuries and their contemporary Adheman author of Saneh-Raso (Sandesh) provides ample proof of this activity in the form of their use of a number of distinctive Panjabi word-forms and verb-formations. Panjab, was a major centre of the exploits of the 'Naths' and 'Siddhas' and it was quite natural for them to imbibe the effects of the local speech, as it was evolving itself out of the Apbhramsa stage. There is a great affinity between the old Panjabi vocabulary, old Sindhi and old Rajasthan, popularly known as 'Dingal', and it provides a very interesting field for research for cultural-historian of the Panjab and North-Western India.²

The first centre of Panjabi literary activity emerged in the Lehanda (western) region of the Panjab in and round the old town of Multan, which lay on the famous trade routes with Sindh, Rajasthan and middle eastern countries. Even before the Muslim conquest of India, Multan had become an important centre of Muslim culture under the impact of Muslim traders and through the efforts of Sufi saints. Adhe-

man makes a reference to his abode in Multan, Sheikh Farid-ud-din, Ganj-i-Shakar also established himself at Pakpattan which became a very important rendezvous of the Sufi mystics and Muslim scholars. Dipalpur, the abode of the love adventures of the Rani Kiklan and Raj ¹ Hodi, was another such important centre proselytizing passion of these Sufi divines and mystics led to adoption of Panjabi as a literary ² ium. Similarly the first Panjabi love-romance writer Damodar, contemporary of Akbar, also belonged to this region, who adopted Lehanda dialect for his famous "Qissa Heer-Ranja" which soon developed into a vital vehicle of self expression of the mystics. Thus 'Lehanda' was the first to emerge as a literary dialect of Central Panjab (Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts), before it yielded this place of honour to 'Majhi' i.e. the dialect of Central Panjab it had already achieved a distinctive character, remarkable for its romantic mystique ³ economy of expression and sweetness.

A reference may, however, be made to the war ballads known as Vars, which are attributed to Pre-Nanak Age. The martial character of the races inhabiting Panjab and the turbulent times through which it passed under successive invasions from the North-West, undoubtedly warrant the rise and growth of such poetry. The key-motif of such poetry was to highlight the heroic and chivalrous deeds of its protagonists. The suggestion of Shri Guru Arjan Dev, who edited the Adi Granth to sing some of the verses included in it in accordance with the times of various such vars testify to their popularity. A whole world of feudal Panjab with its Princes and chieftains driven to dark

2. .Gopa 8 -Rosa, P. Dardi, P. 141
 3. A P a s s such as Dr. Mohan Singh have testified to the presence of Panjabi writing attributed to writers like Purhya or Pandya, Chand Bardai and Khushro etc., it remains problematic to acclaim them as Panjabi writers any more than writers of Panjab. The language used by them may indicate an occasional bias for Panjabi idiom or some traces of Panjabi word-forms may also be discovered in them, but their works manifestly belong more to present day Hindi-Urdu literary tradition than to Panjabi.

passions of love, jealousy and gallantry is secured in these vars. Some of the most important and popular vars of this age are known as the Var of Rai Kamal, the Var of Manj, the Var of Tunda Asraja, the Var of Sikander Ibrahim, the Var of Lal Behlima, etc. Their authorship is almost anonymous.

Another link of the literary tradition of Panjabi literature is provided by the existence of a rich folk-lore, which has been presented in the forms of folk-songs, folk-stories, riddles, and popular sayings. While the ancestry of some of these may conclusively be traced to classical Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apbhramsha literatures, a major part of them belongs to the racial inheritance of Panjab, and mirrors the pastoral life and moods in haunting tones with a flavour of the primordial elements like earth, sun moon and stars. The sex-relationships represented in these compositions of a collective mind are very simple, direct and uninhibited. Besides mirroring a whole social milieu, whose last traces even are now fast disappearing, this folk lore preserves the whole account of collective wisdom. Whenever the Panjabi poets felt a need to address the common man they invariably fell back upon this inexhaustible store of tunes and tones and symbols and imagery.

After this promising start, the Panjabi literature did not throw up any luminous figure till two centuries later its brightest star Guru Nanak appeared on the horizon. There must have been a long stretch of some minor poets, but little is known about them. This situation cannot be attributed to any specific reason except that during that dark age of the literary history of Panjab much of its life ebbed away and what little sign of it remained was trampled down by ruthless vandals, the early Muslim invaders. But appearance of Guru Nanak and emergence of Sikh tradition more than redeemed this dismal state of affairs.

Although the poetry of Guru Nanak as also the Sikh religion which evolved out of his teachings, ^{is} are the product of the same social ferment which gave birth to Bhakti movement or renaissance in medieval Indian religion and art, yet they acquired a wholly distinct character of their own. But in its content and in its temper the Sikh poetic tradition carries this distinctive mark. To the devotional exultation and mystic beatitude of the poetry of Bhakti school, Guru Nanak added the element of historical involvement and commitment. This manifested itself in a strong denunciation of the political subjugation and administrative misrule; a seathing criticism of the religious rituals and dogmas sustained by a thoroughly decadent priestly class and ruthless demolition of all distinctions of caste and creed which separate man from fellow man. Guru Nanak preached for a Universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of Man. While paying critical attention to the outer shackles on human personality, Guru Nanak did not forget to point to the moral and spiritual decay in which he found his own people. Describing the mark of 'Kaliyug' he draws attention to the "corruption of the places of worship and decadence of social institutions", and explains it as a consequence of flowing from people becoming fatalists, having cast off their Dharma and degenerating into an ignorant mass of persons dead and blind in spirit. Thus complete surrender of self to the will of a loving God acquired a new significance of a self-less dedication to the service of mankind and to mitigation of its unhappy lot.

Punjabi poetry, with Guru Nanak, expanded its horizons and was endowed with a new daring and a fresh vigour. It forged strong links with the life of men and their dreams of fulfilment. He rejected the concept of God as an abstract construction of cold logic and replaced

2. -Shalok-Mahalla-1,20(1)
-Shalok Mahala-1

it with that of a personal God, and adoptable father, a loving Lord an inspiring protector. Panjabi poetry began to glow with this emotional exuberance and warmth of human relationships. All this led to an unleashing of new forces and an energisation of a people, which is still to a large extent far from having exhausted itself. In more way than one can imagine, Guru Nanak's poetry appeals to the modern imagination, and has been a great force in liberating human soul and stimulating human imagination.

Both the catholicity of his belief and radical nature of his outlook are reflected in Guru Nanak's attitude to poetic form and his literary taste. The conscious poet that he was, he made several innovations, which helped him to save the Panjabi poetic tradition from conventional formation of the traditional literature. In poetic form he drew heavily upon the folk forms besides adopting popular forms of "Vars", "Baramahas", "Pauries", "Painti Akhari" to his new content. In imagery, he replaced the contrived and unnatural images with those drawn from the natural landscape of Panjab and the social and institutional life of its people. This set the norm for Panjabi poetry to be written by succeeding poets as his teachings set the norm for human conduct. Casting off poetic embellishments and shedding away ostentatious style, Guru Nanak's poetry became a fresh, direct and intimate piece of beauty both delicate and vital.

The works of Guru Nanak are secured in the Adi Granth. Most important of these are metaphysical-cum-lyrical "Jap Ji", Sidh Gosht, Baramah and Painti Akhari. Besides he wrote scores of lyrical poems known in Sikh literature as Shabdas. Their popularity led to creation a whole mass of apocryphal literature attributed to him. "The age of Nanak is the golden Age for Panjabi life and letters, for, then the masses of the population found a religion and a literature right close to their heads and hearts."

Guru Nanak was followed by successive Sikh Guru-poets. A special mention may be made of Guru Ram Dass, the great aesthetic of a religious poets; Guru Arjan Dev (1563-1606 A.D.) who carved a niche for himself in the realm of medieval Indian culture by successfully executing the stupendous job of editing the Adi Granth (edited 1604 A.D.), which is unique fact of its type. In 1430 pages of this sacred text are included selected works of many important 'Bhakts' (Saints) of medieval India including Kabir, Farid, Ramanand, Ravidas, Namdev, Sur Das and Mirabai, besides complete works of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Dass, Guru Arjan Dev and many other Bhakts. Later on Guru Gobind Singh added the teachings of Guru Tegh Bahadur¹ and a couple of his own writings.

Adi-Granth is a unique work of significance in the medieval Indian literature, both for its magnitude and its wide range. As an attempt to bring together the works of 'Bhaktas' of various religious beliefs and different castes, it is a magnificent symbol of the synthesis which Sikhism sought to achieve out of the chaos of medieval Indian religions and society. As a record of what the most sensitive souls of the medieval age of Indian history felt about their contents, or any situation, about the destiny of man, and about the way to his salvation, it is of immense value to the social scientist. As an anthology of verse written in numerous languages and different styles then popular, it provides us with most authentic source for literary and² linguistic research.

Adi Granth is a graven monument to the organising gains of Guru Arjan. The job of collecting, sorting out, selecting and arranging the material, took him over four years. In this enterprise he was ably assisted by another eminent poet and Sikh scholar Bhai Gurdas. To Adi-

1. . an Sin ,PP.
Singh Dardi, PP.55-104
2. Dr.Mohan Singh, PP.18-19
Panjab Sahit da Itiha-Dr.Gopal Singh Dardi, PP.104-126

Granth's major contribution also came from the pen of Guru Arjan, himself. His compositions are mainly discursive or didactic. The lyrical element is subdued and is provided by a touching expression of a sense of great humility of utter dedication of being the first¹ of the illustrious line of Sikh martyrs.

The energy generated by the Sikh movement led to a great literary renaissance in Panjab. Another important Sikh poet of this age is Bhai Gurdas (1551-1639 A.D.) who wrote both in Brij Bhasa and in Panjabi. In Brij Bhasa, he adhered to a conventional form "Svaiya" while in Panjabi he chose a more pliable form i.e. Var. His writings though didactic in character are of great historical interest. Another distinction, which he shares with another of the contemporaries Shah Hussain is the chaste Panjabi idiom, whose potentialities he exhausted to the maximum. His similes evoke the image of a rural Panjab, luxuriant in forms and exhaustive in hues. Bhai Gurdas is called the St. Paul of Sikhism. His work is deemed to hold the key to the Sikh spiritual treasury and to make the best and purest Raht-nama. "Although derivative in thought and resonate and repetitive in vocabulary, his considerable volume of poetry for its wealth of allusion, and imagery fresh as well as rejuvenate, its ripeness of Hindu Muslim and Sikh cultural scholarship and for the force and colourfulness of its style entitles him to the rank of the greatest² medieval Panjabi Poet".

In religious poetry, another stream of medieval Panjabi literature is that of Sufi Poetry. From the very start, Sufi poetry has been very popular with the rural masses of Panjab, especially the Muslims. Although Panjabi Sufi poets belong to the great tradition of

1. M. S. P. -
pal Singh, PP.104-126
2. Dr. Gopal Singh, PP.95-100
Mohan Singh, PP.46-48

Sufi mystic poetry, which claimed the best of minds in Arabia and Iran it is distinctly an indigenous growth. Sheikh Farid-ud-din Masud, Ganj-i-Shakar can appropriately be called the progenitor of Sufi tradition of Panjabi poetry. A man of deep religious devotion, he was instrumental in converting large number of the local people to Islam. He wrote both to preach and to express his mystic experiences. A major portion of his works is included in Adi Granth, the Sikh scripture. Shaikh Farid's works in Panjabi other than in the Adi Granth, consist of a set of Kafia, hundred and thirty Shaloks and Nasihatnama. It is a book on religious injunctions tinged with Sufi beliefs.¹ Sheikh Farid set the love and the norm for Panjabi Sufi poetry with his simple and direct style, a natural imagery drawn from the local landscape and institutional life and avoidance of the contrived and the pedantic.

Another Sufi poet was Madho Lal Husain (1539-1593-4) who was born in Lahore, later known as Shaikh Madho, the saint. There is no other his literary work except Kafis (lyrics) of a highly mystic type. His verse is written in simple Panjabi, slightly overlaid with Arabic words. It exceeds in expression of thought and has a clear flow. In its simplicity and effectiveness it is superior to Farid's Panjabi.²

Shah Hussain (1539-1599), the weaver, contributed a great deal to this tradition by drawing heavily upon the folk-lore for his form. His lyrics, known as Kafian, are both deeply emotional and musical, and the reader's response of exultation and passionate involvement is instantaneous. Highly subjective in content and intensity of feeling, they are beautiful specimen of the best romantic Panjabi poetry.³

One of the other Sufi poets, who wrote verse of great poetic

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 -Mirza Muhammad Delhi, Vol. III, PP. 33-38
 Singh, PP. 106-115
 -Mur Ahmed Chishti, PP. 43-46
 -Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, PP. 127-132

charm and appeal, was Sultan Bahu (1629-1690 A.D.), a poet who is universally admitted to have been among the greatest mystics of India¹. He was born at Avan, (Shorkot - Jhang District) in 1691 A.D. Bahu was a great scholar of Arabic and Persian literatures, but there is his only one Siharfi in Panjabi which is very lengthy. His verse is composed in simple and unpretentious style. It has a well marked character of its own and rests entirely on the resources of the poets' thought and knowledge of the Panjabi language of Jhang District. Shah Sharaf (1659-1735), another Sufi poet, was the resident of Batala, District Gurdaspur. He became a sufi saint on account of some domestic trouble and earned a good name both as a Sufi saint and as a Panjabi poet. He wrote lyrics (Kafian) which became popular in the Panjab. His tomb is in Lahore.

Bulhe Shah (1680-1782), another Sufi saint, was born in a Sayyed family residing at the village Pandoki in Kasur, sixteen miles to the south of Raiwind station on the north bank of the river Beas in 1680. He is also equally admitted to have been the greatest of the Panjabi mystics and his lyrics (Kafis) have gained unique popularity in Panjabi poetry. "In truth he is one of the greatest sufis of the world and his thought equals that of Jalal-ud-din Rumi and Shams Tabriz of Iran. As a poet Bulhe Shah is different from the other sufi poets of the Panjabi character which is more reasonable than emotional or passionate."

Bulhe Shah places the Gurus and God on the same level and finds no difference between the two. He is the king of the Panjabi mystics, seems free from any foreign influence truly what is naturally felt in

1. -Su amid r .,P.
2. -Mian Fazl din (1913),PP.9-24
3. - r.Gopal Singh Dardi,PP.133-135
3. -Dr.Gopal Singh Dardi,PP.134-135
4. -G.P. sborne,P.5
5. -Lajwanti Ram Krishna,P.40

loving the divine, which is the greatness of Bulhe Shah, the poet. His¹ verse is simple, yet very beautiful in form.

Ali Haider (1690-1785), the Sufi poet, was born at Qasbia in the² Multan District in 1690. He paints well his disgust of the worldly possessions which one has to leave after death. He calls them false. Haider is the only poet of Panjabi literature who played with words. It is on account of this that his thought is weak and the same idea is differently described. Physical love was his ideal for spiritual love and he, therefore, laid great stress on the use of words which naturally imparted a sort of brilliance to his language. He used³ Lahandi Panjabi (Multani) which is a sweet dialect of Panjab.

Thus the Sufi poets who came to India from 1460 to 1707 with the object of leading the Indians to the beloved Muhammad's path, did creditable work for some years. The old Indian vigour asserted itself and in its turn influenced the Sufi beliefs. The mystics, therefore, observed the best of Islam and Hinduism and developed a new sort of Sufi thought more Indian than foreign in character. Anxious to carry this new thought to the masses, they versified it in their language. In troublous times, these Sufis maintained with their preachings the mental balance of the different communities and, through their poems, sent the message of peace, unity, and love to almost every home and hamlet. Of them Bulhe Shah's lyrics are known for their criticism of religious bigotry and hypocrisy and Ali Haider is remarkable for introducing the style and the imagery of Persian Sufi poetry in Panjabi, which does not appear to have struck roots here.

Besides religious and mystic traditions of medieval Panjabi poetry, the other two important traditions are those of war-ballads

1. Samun-i-Ishag-Vol. II, Anwar Ali Shah of Rohtak, PP. 59, 64, 70, 73, 152
Hansa Chag-Bawa Budh Singh, PP.
 2. J. A. S. - 1869, P. 159
Malwa Aayat Ali Haider-Introduction, P. 3
 3. Ibid. PP. 1-35

and love romances. Amongst themselves these three traditions exhaust the three ideal types of manhood accepted by the medieval Panjab i.e. the saint, the soldier and the lover. These were the types which tickled the imagination of the Panjab and commanded its respect. There are numerous war-ballads (Vars) in Panjabi which adopted as their theme the wars waged by the Sikh Gurus against their tyrannical persecution by the Mughal Emperors, of those the most important is "Bhaire di Var" which describes the battles of Anandpur and Chamkaur between Guru Gobind Singh and the combined forces of the Mughals and hill-chiefs. Similarly the martyrdom of Haqiqat Rai, the subject matter of another ballad known as "Agre di Var Haqiqat Rai". Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1707 A.D.) also adapted a chapter of 'Markandey Puran' namely 'Chandi Charit' in a Panjabi Var 'Chandi di Var'. He was a great scholar and a prolific writer. Main body of his works, is included in 'Dasam Granth' in Brij Bhasha. 'Chandi Di Var' is the most important of his Panjabi compositions and was written with the ostensible motive of installing enthusiasm in the youth for a religious war against the oppressive overlordship of despotic rulers.

In love-romances, medieval Panjabi literature is very rich. Stress being not laid on the originality of the story, every writer tried his skill on the few prevalent stories, which were either derived from the Arabic and Persian sources as was the case with the stories of 'Yusuf Zulekha' (Joseph and Potiphen), 'Shirin-Farhad', Salim-ul-Maluk, and Laila-Majnu or local tales were adopted for the purpose as in the case of Heer-Ranja, Sohni-Mahival, Sassi-Punnu, and Mirza-Sahiban. Thus a number of story-cycles grew around these tales, sometimes the number of poets contributing to a cycle going up to hundred as in the case of Heer-Ranja. These were mostly local poets known as Karishans, who composed and wrote for the enjoyment of a limited audience. Some important writers are described here under:-

Damodar was a native of Jhang District and was the contemporary

of Akbar and is the first poet of Panjabi poetry who wrote the romance of Heer-Ranjha for the first time. His composition is in the Lehnda dialect. A piece of great charm and subtle poetic beauty, 'Damodar's story of Heer-Ranjha is in the classical Indian style in which the human situation is made to adhere to the principle of poetic justice. Damodar's description is indirect and he forges a pregnant style remarkable for its masterly use of innuendo and sly humour. Pilu, a contemporary of Guru Arjan, was the first to write the story of Mirza-Sahiban, which is available today only in parts. Hafiz Barkhudar, faithfully followed in his footsteps.

Not covered by any of the categories of medi^eval Panjabi poetry referred to above, are the indignant satirical compositions of Suthra Shah, Jalhan, and Wajid. These poets poured ridicule on the shams and the frauds and the hypocrisy of the society in which they lived. There were also numerous Muslim poets, who wrote exclusively Muslim religious poetry, deriving inspiration from the Muslim history and religious and social law.

In medieval age, not much Panjabi prose was written. Whatever little was written related to the lives of Sikh Gurus especially Guru Nanak Dev, and annotation of their works. These are known as 'Janam Sakhis' (Birth stories) and 'Teeks'^a (Translations). In 'Janam Sakhis', all historical and mythical elements are mixed together and many incredible miracles are attributed to their heroes. As pieces of historical information these are exasperating, but as pieces of literary prose they are very interesting. 'Puratan Janam Sakhi', popularly known as 'Walait Wali Janam Sakhi' is the oldest specimen of such writing and is ascribed to the time of Guru Arjan. Another one written by Bhai 'Meharban', a nephew of Guru Arjan, is the most voluminous and

1. A History of Panjabi Poetry-Dr. Mohan Singh, P. 42
 Panjabi Sahit da Itihaas-Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, PP. 141-149

interesting. The one, attributed to Bhai Bala is of dubious authorship and there are so many apparent interpolations in it that its utility is greatly undermined. Bhai Mani Singh also wrote a Janam Sakhi, besides 'Sikhan di Bhagat Mala', a record of the important followers of the Sikh Gurus.

D. HINDI LITERATURE

During the Sultanate period, Hindi was in a state of evolution, and had not yet become a language of literary expression. The Turkish sultans were not disposed to extend any patronage to it. Nevertheless it was gradually becoming the language of the people of Central India and wandering saints of the Bhakti Movement were in the course of their pilgrimages spreading it from place to place. This language was further developed by saints like Gorakhnath (940-1031), Charpat (890-990), Ramananda, Kabir, etc. It also received some impetus from the preaching of the Sufi saints.

When the Mughals came to the scene, Hindi was fast developing to the status of a literary language. The historians are unanimous in offering that from the earliest times up to the middle of Akbar's reign, all Government accounts were kept in Hindi or generally speaking in the local vernaculars. About 1300 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Sikander Lodi we hear for the first time of works composed by Hindus in Persian language.¹ Guru Nanak while working at Sultanpur Lodi as an accountant during the reign of Sikander Lodi, under Daulat Khan Lodi, the then governor of the Panjab, maintained accounts in Hindi.²

Akbar constitutes the golden age of Hindi poetry. The influence exercised by his glorious and victorious reign, his well-known preference for Hindu thought and mode of life, together with his policy of

1. The Calcutta Review (1891), pp. 320-321

2. Farai Adhivat-i-Farai mer Hindoon ka Hissa-Dr. Sayyid Abdulla (1942) pp. 7-14

complete religious tolerance and recognition of merit, combined with peace, both internal and external, engendered a bracing atmosphere for the development thought and literature. The result was that many first-rate Hindi poets produced remarkable poetic works which have become classics. The most notable luminaries of Hindi were Tulsī Dāss, Sur Das and Birbar. Akbar himself liked Hindi poetry and extended patronage to Hindi poets. He is even stated to have composed some verses in that language. It is, not therefore, surprising that Hindi poetry made a remarkable progress during his reign. The most important feature of the age was that literary activities were not confined to the court and nobles. It was essentially a movement of the people and a large number of scholars and poets of Hindi were found in the countryside and were patronised mainly by local land-lords and well-to-do public men.

Jahangir too patronised Hindi scholars, saints and artists. Jahangir's brother Daniyal was a noted poet of Hindi. Shah Jahan continued the tradition of his house. The progress of Hindi literature received a set back in the time of Aurangzeb who was not kindly disposed towards it. Nevertheless Hindi continued to flourish at the court of Hindu Rajas.

Kirpa Ram was the unrivalled poet of the Hindi language who had a charming style, because under the patronage of the Great Mughals it was shedding off its grossness and was assimilating into itself all the sweetness and charm of the Persian Language. Kirpa Ram composed his work chiefly in Brijbhāṣā among which Hit-trangini was fairly well-known all over India for its elegant style and charming diction. It chiefly dwelt upon the nature of man and marked a break with the past in-as-much as it was written in 'Dohas' instead of 'Chhands' which were then generally used for the expression of erotic sentiment. So Kirpa Ram broke a new ground in Hindi literature by trying to comp-

ress his ideas into a few words.¹

Raja Birbar a great poet of Hindi, was much liked by Akbar who conferred on him the title of Kavi Rai.² "Birbar was as much renowned for his liberality, as far as musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindustan."³ Raja Takhat Mal was also a great poet of Hindi and composed Shirikar Kundki Chopai.⁴ Ram Chara's Ram Vinoda, Nain Gul's Vaidhya Manotsava, and Lakhshmi Narayan's Prem Trangini were among the other important Hindi works of this period.⁵

The Sikh Gurus also contributed a lot to Hindi literature. The critics and the scholars of Hindi literature have unanimously agreed that the fifth Guru Arjan wrote his hymns in Hindi. But the tenth Guru had given the real impetus to Hindi literature when he invited the scholars of Hindi and Sanskrit Languages, such as Hans Ram and Mangal, and encouraged them to write as much as they could. Guru Gobind Singh has written his own hymns mainly in Hindi and was its great patroniser. Below is given the list of more poets and prose-writers who contributed to Hindi literature in the Panjab during the period of our study. They were Chandan, Dhanna, Sadama, Bhog Raj, Amri Rai, Karresh and Charib Dass who were famous poets of Hindi. Sabha Chand Sondhi of Jullundur wrote Katha Ram Rup. Maharaban and Hirde Ram were Hindi writers during Jahangir's reign; Sur Das (1493-1563 A.D.) Khushal Rai Anath Puri (1643-1695 A.D.) Manohar Das Niranjani, Ram Chand (B.1663 A.D.) Anath Puri and Bala Lal of Lahore (1590-1710 A.D.) were other writers. Among the Muslim Hindi writers were Shah Husain, Shaikh Abdul Qadus (D.1537 A.D.), Muhammad Afzal (first name Gopal) (D.1683 A.D.) Shaikh Sharif of Batala and Bulleh Shah Qaderi of Kasur.

2. نساء الشبرا Poe Laura

3. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.I, Jarrett, PP.442-444

4. History of Hindi Literature, P.396

5. Ibid. PP.381, 403, 406

E. SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The Sultans of Delhi did not patronise Sanskrit literature and none of them had any Sanskrit poet at his court. During the later days of the Sultanate, however, a few Sanskrit works were rendered into Persian or some matter from certain Sanskrit works was incorporated in Persian works. Despite lack of royal patronage Sanskrit language and literature continued to flourish during the period and the adverse political conditions did not materially influence their progress.

With the advent of the Mughals, though the prospects of Sanskrit learning seemed to have brightened up, yet we do not have any marked creation of this literature in the Panjab during this period. It might be possible that some Pandits might have devoted their energies and time for teaching and preaching their religious dogmas in Sanskrit, but no creative work of any other is forthcoming. Babar and Humayun were not interested in Sanskrit literature at all. Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor to extend patronage to Sanskrit and many scholars and poets of Sanskrit adorned his court and received recognition at his hands but unfortunately none from the Panjab. Akbar not only listened to their poems but also discussed with them the principles of Hindu thoughts, religious and secular. Jahangir followed in the footsteps of his father and employed Sanskrit poets and scholars. Although Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim, yet he, in pursuance of his ancestral policy, extended patronage to scholars of Sanskrit. The court historian Abdul Hamid Lahori gives the names of several Sanskrit poets but none from the Panjab, who were received by Shah Jahan from time to time. Aurangzeb, however, had no soft corner for Sanskrit learning and during his reign Sanskrit scholars ceased to be honoured at the Mughal court. But Sanskrit learning continued to flourish at the court of Hindu Rajas. In spite of royal patronage Sanskrit literature of the Mughal period could not be called first-rate, original and inspiring work of art.

CHAPTER - XII

ART. ARCHITECTURE. PAINTING. SCULPTURE. GARDENING AND BUILDING OF TOWNS

A. ART AND ARCHITECTURE:- The Central Asian architecture with the arches and the vaults, the lofty minarets, the domes brought by the early Turkish invaders had, by the time of Babar's invasion of India, flourished for more than three hundred years side by side with the native architecture characterised by the arches built on the cantilever principle and corbel brackets narrow columns and flat roofs. The former had not been able to influence the latter to an appreciable extent, but on the other hand the Hindu ideas of art had influenced, to a considerable extent, the early Turkish architecture in this country. The reasons for this were:-

The foreign Turkish rulers had to employ Indian craftsmen and sculptors, who while sticking to their own traditions about the form and method of construction, introduced unconsciously, into the Muslim buildings many decorative and architectural details, which had been in vogue in the country for centuries in the past.

The early conquerors, almost in all the cases, built their places of worship, royal edifices and even tombs out of the material got from the Hindu and Jain temples which were so callously pulled down by those fanatics. Thus, the necessity of adjustment which the material required, influenced and modified the foreign art and architecture.

Notwithstanding the striking contrast between the Muslim and Hindu styles, their buildings resembled in some particulars. Therefore

the Sultans of Delhi sometimes converted Hindu and Jain temples into mosques just after the demolition of the roofs and by erecting domes in their place with an addition of the minarets.

On account of the circumstances enumerated above, the old native art continued to exert influence upon the Muslim architecture and this influence continued beyond the period of the Sultans of De and expressed itself in the narrow columns plasters, corbel brackets and other ornamental features of the Mughal Buildings.

In the domain of the fine arts, the richest contribution of the Muslims, is in the Indo-Saracen School of Painting, which had influenced the Great Mughals, mingled with the traditional Indian paintings under the patronage of Akbar. As a result of the fusion a new art of Indian painting was evolved.

The Muslim rule caused a distinct advance in architecture. As demonstrated by the relics of the past buildings, it seems that the Hindu kings squandered their wealth and artistic skill on temples and not on their palaces. But the Muslims built palaces and tombs in addition to their places of religion. The semi-circular radiating arch, the vaulted dome as also the geometrically laid out gardens, particularly are within the purview of Muslim art.

Babar intended to invite from Constantinople, a pupil of the famous Albanian architect, Sinan, to assist him in his building projects; he had a poor opinion of Indian art and skill. Most of his magnificent monuments have perished. From an architectural point of view, Lahore is a Mughal city and its Muslim remains, with a few exceptions are in the Mughal style, the exception being the tomb of Shah Musa, by the Lahore Railway Station, which is in Afghan style and the Mosque of Maryam Makani or Maryam Zamani by the eastern Gateway of the Lahore fort, the style of which is transitional

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between the Afghan and the Mughal styles.

Humayun's life was too unsettled to allow him to give free and full scope to his aesthetic fancy. Instead of using marble, stone or brick in the construction of his buildings he used wood right through and this is the most striking feature of his architecture. The material records which have survived of both Babar's and Humayun's contributions to the building art of the country are almost negligible. However, owing to the unsettled conditions of the country under the first two Great Mughals, a little encouragement to architecture was possible during the early years. A few buildings of a private character which were erected in those days, in the Panjab, show that the style of the Sayyeds and Afghans as produced in the previous century still continued. According to Sir Wolseley Haig "Babar's marked aesthetic sense, communicated to his successors inspired them under more favourable conditions to the production of their finest achievements, while Humayun's forced contact with the culture of the Safavids is reflected in the Persian influences noticeable in many of the Mughal buildings which followed." Most of the Babar's magnificent monuments have perished; the only one that ^{has} survived in the Panjab out of the major works, is the Kabuli Bagh at Panipat.

The Surs, who supplanted the Great Mughals (Babar and Humayun) for the time being, were remarkable builders. The palace built in the citadel of Agra by Sher Shah or his successor, Islam Shah, was as exquisite a piece of decorative art as anything of its class in India. "This palace must have gone far to justify the eulogium more than once passed on the works of these Pathans - that 'They built like giants and finished like goldsmiths; for the stones seem to have been of enormous size and the details of most exquisite finest.'" Sher

1. History of India-Vol.IV, Elliot and Dowson, PP. 523-524

In his Memoirs, Babar bitterly complained of the ugliness of the cities of Hindustan.

2. The Cambridge History of India-Vol.IV, P. 525

3. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture-Fergusson, PP. 572-573

Shah's one of the most magnificent monuments is the Fort of Rohtas (Khurd) details of which with some more minor monuments are given at their proper place.

In Akbar the Great, the greatest exponent of Hindu-Muslim unity, architecture, like other fine arts, found a most active and powerful patron. His buildings were characterised by the unity of Hindu and Muslim styles, of which some times the one predominated and some times the other, so much so that Fatehpur Sikri, the nucleus of architectural splendour in the reign of Akbar, has been very aptly described as "a reflex of the great mind of the man who built it." Even Akbar's architecture speaks for his statesmanship, aiming at Hindu-Muslim Unity.

The style of architecture evolved by Akbar represented a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim styles and may be called the mixed Hindu-Muslim style or national Indian style of architecture. Although Lahor was regarded as only the secondary capital of the Empire, which Akbar had from 1584 to 1598, the fort that Akbar constructed there, almost at the same time as that of Agra, was conceived and carried out on practically the same grand scale. However, its lay-out as it general indicates an advance on that of the more southerly capital as it is rectangular in plan and the interior arrangements are more regularly aligned.

Jahangir's interest centered mainly round painting and gardening. His father's building activity was so vast and varied and it carried such a long period that he found it hard to rival him. Even then Jahangir's reign is not without architectural glory. A few magnificent buildings were erected during his reign and the Emperor himself had a hand in their plan, design and execution. "Under Jahangir's spasmodic supervision, which on occasions looked like undue interference and with his dilettante temperament, the fine state of the structure is perhaps largely due. Jahangir had a trained eye for a picture,

but not a mind that could understand the largeness and breadth required for architectural effect.¹"

The development of architecture reached the zenith of perfection in the time of Shah Jahan who built palaces, mosques, tombs and pavillion of white marble at Agra, Lahore, Delhi, Kabul, Kashmir, Ajmer, Kandhar, Ahmedabad and other places. To the popular mind the glories of Shah Jahan's reign are far more vividly depicted in the art than in the literature of that period. The Emperor's entire attention was devoted to the development of architecture; and the building constructed in his reign stand as a living monument of unsurpassed constructive skill. They breathe sublimity, peace, elegance, and grandeur, though over-elaboration in some of them appears a little grotesque to an expert. The unscrupulous beholder of art is simply enchanted by their all round beauty. Even if the entire historical literature had perished, and only the buildings had remained to tell the story of Shah Jahan's reign, there is little doubt that it would have still been asserted as the most glorious in history.²

Experts held divergent views on the architectural style of this period. Those who hesitate to credit Indian genius with the creative originality to produce anything new or original, trace in it a powerful extraneous influence. But others hold a contrary opinion and assert that this style is the natural growth and consummation of strict Indian artistic traditions.³ It is impossible to pronounce a final judgment on such a delicate question, but it seems clear that the truth lies between the two extremes. The style, it may reasonably be presumed was the product of an impact of one culture on the other. It was not a Minerva-like creation springing full grown from the head of

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Fergusson,P.286

- .A. P.1 -
avell,Chapter-VI

one man, but a continuous growth of art in which many men of different cultures and followers of different traditions took part. It had a steady growth which attained perfection in this period, when it received impetus and patronage.¹

After the death of Shah Jahan, the Mughal architecture began rapidly to deteriorate. His successor Aurangzeb was little interested in construction of buildings. He did not display any love for fine arts. He constructed only a few buildings none of which compare in architectural merit to the splendid monuments erected by his father, grand father and great-grand father. The Indo-Muslim architecture registered a downward trend after Shah Jahan's death.

B. PAINTING:- The art of painting did not get the patronage by the Sultans of Delhi because owing to the Quranic prohibition, this art was shunned by all the Muslim rulers, the Muslim nobility, and rank and file. It was believed by them that a painter who painted the figures of living beings imagined that he was giving life to the object of his painting and thus he presumed to rival Allah (God), who alone is the giver of life. In view of this, the art of painting, at least of living beings, was considered irreligious by orthodox Muslims.

Akbar though a Muslim, was a lover of fine art and used to say that far from making a man irreligious, painting urges an artist to turn to God and seek His blessings in the task of imparting individuality to his work. The early Muslim artists confined themselves to the painting of inanimate objects, such as trees, mountains, rivers, water and fire. The next step was to take to the drawings of birds and animals and then finally to human portraiture. Under Akbar, this art had very much developed in every corner of India. Akbar gave birth to the Mughal School of Pictorial Art. Under his patronage this art mingled with the style of Indian painting which despite neglect and lack of

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patronage had survived since ancient times.

The art of painting flourished during the reign of Jahangir. He was brought up at a court which extended a splendid patronage to art, where he developed and trained his aesthetic faculties to a remarkable degree. In later life, he could distinguish at sight the hand of different painters on the same or different canvases or in the same portrait. Under his encouragement Indian painting reached its high water mark.³ The picture galleries at Lahore representing the Imperial family, and baronage would have ranked among the finest in the world.³

Painting continued to flourish in the time of Shah Jahan, but he was more fond of architecture than of painting. This, together with the sensuousness of his taste, led to a certain decadence in pictorial art. The paintings of this time are characterised by graphic colouring and ornamental borders. During the reign of Aurangzeb who was antipathetic to all forms of art, painting still continued to exist, though it did not flourish as the Mughal nobles and the Hindu rulers in spite of the lack of royal encouragement, still continued to patronise it. "The art of painting of the Great Mughals was full of softness and sentiment, for chivalry and romance - scenes of love-making, Laila and Majnun, Shirin and Farhad, youths and maidens dallying in gardens by the side of a stream, of gorgeous reception of foreign embassies in royal courts, of feasts and festive functions, where wine passed freely round, where dainty dishes were served and where toothsome viands were spread in abundance - are depicted equally well and in plenty. Then like every age of romance, conquest and mystery, this age was greatly interested in the supernatural and the marvellous. Genii, goblins, monsters and fairies moved amidst men as common well-known,

1. -8 2, PP.
2. Vol.I, RAB, P.228
3. - PP.
Vol.IV, William Finch, PP.53-55

familiar figures. They were the stock-in-trade of the story-teller and the painter.¹

C. SCULPTURE:- Sculpture, has reliefs and tile-work which were so closely connected with architecture, a short reference^{of which} is necessary here. Following the example of the Iranian Kings, the Great Mughals sought the aid of the sculptor's art for the beautification of their buildings, palaces and pleasantries. The Great Mughals, however, patronized ivory carving and the miniatures in ivory were prized by them, and this art reached perfection during their rule. Other crafts such as ornamental pottery and metal work were also highly developed all over Northern India. Ornamental brassware, silver, gold and other metal vessels with inlay work (Koft-gari) were turned out on a large scale. 'Bidri' pots were also manufactured. Dainty carved vessels, brass toys, embossed shields, decorated with figures of heroes and heroines, vases on salvers with engraved signs of the Zodiac, metal trays in high relief perforated and embossed lamps, water pots. The 'Sarai' of Nur Jahan erected at Nur Mahal in Jullundur District, the details of which are given elsewhere in this chapter, is remarkable² for its exquisitely sculptured front.

D. GARDENING:- The Great Mughals were great lovers of laying gardens. When they consolidated their power, they patronized the art of gardening equally well. Akbar followed the example of his ancestors and laid out beautiful gardens. Jahangir was the greatest among all the Great Mughals. "His principal delight was in the laying out of large formal gardens, the romantic beauty of which has contributed a lot to the aesthetic reputation of the Mughal dynasty. Though Jahangir's love of nature, inherited from his progenitor, Babar, the Mughal garden was brought to perfection and at all places where this Emperor sojourned

for any length of time one of these pleasancess was generally prepared.¹

Though Shah Jahan's aesthetic fancy mainly centred round architecture, he was no less interested in gardens which were indispensable for the ornamentation of his beautiful buildings. Aurangzeb who denied himself many other pleasures had no particular fondness for gardens also. The latter Mughals were even more devoted to gardening and other fine arts than their predecessors.²

With high-walled enclosures, redolent with fragrant flowers, gaily plumaged birds, a captured stream running through the garden in rhythmic harmony, arching trees sheltering the spring flowers, a tank in the middle reflecting the flower-beds around and the scenes surrounding it on its transparent surface, the charming nightingales chirping and wooing the fully bloomed roses, and decently dressed 'hurs'³ and 'ghilmans'⁴ moving about the legendary paradise was fully attained and nothing beautiful that could be conceived by human mind seems to have been left wanting.⁵

The love of gardening displayed by the Mughal Emperors, had an enduring impression on the taste of the people of the Panjab, Hindus as well as the Muslims. But unfortunately, most of the gardens, where the nightingales (Bulbuls) sang so sweetly the songs of splendour are now lying in ruins or are given to cultivation and good many more have died out for want of care. Yet there is enough in the remnants to indicate the tastes of their founders and the beauty that surrounded them.

In the following chapter, efforts have been made to describe in details the achievements of the Great Mughals, in the field of art architecture, painting, sculpture, gardening and building of towns.

1. -Vol. . ,PP.
2. January, . . . -238
3. urs ۛۛۛۛ Virgins or Virg ne of Paradise
4. Ghilmans ۛۛۛۛ Young lads
5. Gardens of the Great Mughals-C.M.V.Stuart,PP.123-124
L.R.A.S.- January 1936,P.238

these works are stated Emperor-wise, so that a clear idea may be formed about their time to time development.

BABAR

KANAUD (MOHINDERGARH):- Kanaud was refounded by Malik Mahdud Khan, a servant of Babar, but before it was founded by Mahdud Khan, it is said that it was inhabited by Brahmans of the Kanaudia group, from whom it derived its name. It remained a pargana of the Sarkar of Narnaul under the Mughal Emperors.

GARDEN OF MIRZA KAMRAN (LAHORE):- This garden was founded by Mirza Kamran in 1530 when he was the governor of the province. The building is made of solid masonry and its appearance on the banks of the river Ravi is imposing and picturesque. The Baradari of Mirza Kamran was built in this garden, which was one of the earliest laid-outs in India by the Mughals. The Ravi then flowed at a distance of two miles from its present course. The paintings in gorgeous colours beneath the arches are still to be seen as also the marks of old paths in the garden.

HAU-LAKHA (LAHORE):- Prince Kamran, the younger brother of Hamayun governor of the Panjab, seems to give the first impetus to the architectural embellishment of Lahore by building a palace and garden near the suburb of Haulakha and afterwards extending to the river Ravi. A 'Baradari' said to have been built by the same prince, the oldest monument of Mughal architecture in Lahore, which was used for many years as a toll house till 1947 at the old bridge of boats on the Ravi, is now a protected monument in the charge of the Archaeological Department.

CHANDRA PATEL MUBARAK (KARNAL):- After the battle of Panipat, Babar

1. P.1
2. amma La . 12
3. - - -Text, A.Yadgar, PP.125-126
4. a rem s of the palace is a large gateway now used as a private house in the vicinity of S.Lahna Singh's Chhauni". (Lahore District Gazetteer, P.27)

erected a mosque with a garden, a tank, and some years later, when Humayun defeated Salim Shah, some four miles north of Panipat, he added a masonry and called it 'Chabutra Fateh Mubarik'. These buildings and the garden still exist under the name of the Kabul or Kabli Bagh. The building bears an inscription into the words engraved "Bina Rabi-ul-Awwal 934 Hij." Babar had a wife called Kabuli Begum and Sir E. Colebrooke says "her name might possibly be derived from the name of species of myrobalan."

HUMAYUN

HATUR:- There is one tomb of Rai Ferozwala near the village of 'Hatur' or 'Arhatpur' 34 miles south-west of Ludhiana, which, it is said, was built in the times of Humayun. The heirs of Feroze had been living in these villages till the partition of the Panjab in 1947, when almost all the Muslims left East Panjab and migrated to the West Panjab (Pakistan). Other old buildings of historical value of this village are the Ammat Khanwali Masjid which was built by Ammat Khan in the times of Shah Jahan; the Nikka-mal-Wala Math, one mile north-west of the village, and a brick mosque all-built in the reign of Akbar.

MEHM (ROHTAK):- The Jama Masjid at Mehm in Rohtak district was built in 1531 by Begum Sultan who lived in the times of Humayun and is traditionally said to have been one of his wives.

JHELUM:- The present town of Jhelum, 103 miles from Lahore, is of modern origin. The old town of Jhelum was on the left bank of the river and remains of that still exist. About the year 1532, some boatmen from old Jhelum established themselves on the right bank for the better management of the ferry and, thus, founded the modern town. The settlement gradually grew in size and was found at the time of annexa-

1. Foundation was laid in 1527 A.D. (District Gazetteer Karnal, P. 18)

2. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society-Vol. 13, P. 379

3. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, P. 228

4. Ibid.

5. Rohtak District Gazetteer, P. 44

tion of the Panjab in 1849 by the British to contain some five hundred houses.

THE SURS

ROHTAS (JHELUM):- About ten miles north-west from Jhelum and three miles to the south-west of Dina railway station, is situated the great fort of Rohtas. After the expulsion of Humayun in 1542, the Emperor Sher Shah Sur found it desirable to take measures against the return of the exiled Mughal emperor and for the purpose of over-awing the warlike and powerful Gakhars. He, therefore, selected the spot, where the fort could command the entrance of the 'Kuhan' pass, to be named after the fort of Rohtas in Bengal. The Gakhars did all they could, to boycott the builders and as such for some time, to attract labour, an ashrafi (golden coin) was paid for each laying stone, but eventually the work was completed in 1543.

This fort has a circumference of about two and a half miles, and a dividing wall in addition about 1/3 mile long. The walls are at their base in many places thirty feet thick and from thirty to fifty feet high. There are sixty-eight towers of bastions and twelve gateways, and the walls are every where pierced for musketry or archery, and here and there for cannon in the parapets. Near the gateways are machicolations, from which molten lead could be poured on attacking troops. The fort has never stood a serious siege, and even in mediaeval warfare would not have been able to hold a large army in it, for, some of the gates are not only taken easy of access, but are also mal-constructed. Many of the gateways are still imposing, the finest being the Sohal Gate in front of Tilla, which is over seventy feet high; the balconies on the outer walls of this gate are fine specimens of the work of the times. The best gateways after the Sohal Darwaza are the

1. History of India-Vol. II, Erskine, P. 426
Ma'asir-ul-Umra-Vol. II, Shah Nawaz, Text, P. 103

Khawas Khani where the road from Jhelum enters the fort. The northern part of the fort is separated from the rest by an interior wall, much the same as those on the outside, so as to form a kind of citadel. Within it, is a small high building of incongruous appearance said to have been erected by Man Singh in the time of Akbar. The fort contained two walls with long flight of steps on the side giving access to water.¹

SHER GARH (GULIRANWALA):- The old town, known as Saidpur, was destroyed by Sher Shah Suri in about 1542 and a new city Shergarh, the ruins of which are still visible, was founded about one and a half mile to the south-west of the present site. The Afghan garrison was expelled after a long siege by Amin Beg one of Humayun's generals, who under the orders of Akbar razed the old city and founded with its materials the existing one which has never been destroyed in the subsequent invasions.²

GANJAL AND HANDLI (SHAHPUR):- The only architectural remains in the plains of the Shahpur district are of comparatively recent date. The construction of many of these buildings such as the Mosque at Ehera, the "wans" (Staircased walls) at Ganjal and Handali, and the remains of a massive masonry purpose of distributing the water of the stream was undertaken during the reign of Sher Shah Sur.³

NEW EHRA (SHAHPUR):- The new town of Ehera was founded in 1540 during the reign of Sher Shah, near a spot where a Muslim holy man of great spiritual repute called Pir Kaya Nath, had for sometime resided and where his followers are still residing round the tomb of their spiritual father. Pilgrims come to pay homage from far and near.⁴

2. - - - - - , P.345
 3. - - - - - ,B ,P.221
 4. - - - - - ,PP.37,32
 4. - - - - - ,P.234
 - - - - - , oc an,P.325

Dowson, . 4-

SARAI KHAWASPUR (GUJRAT):¹ - The Serai of Khawaspur was built in 1545 by Khawas Khan, who was a general of repute and the governor of the Panjab during the reigns of Sher Shah and his son Islam Shah.²

BASI (SIRHIND): - Malik Haider Khan Umarasai founded this village in 1540. He was the Pathan Malik who is said to have settled here in the time of Sher Shah Sur. Basi was called Basti Malik Haider Khan in the times of the Mughals. It could not come into eminence as an old and strategic big town, like Sirhind, was only three miles distant which was also the headquarters of the Suba of Sirhind during the regime of the Great Mughals.³

NARNAUL: - Narnaul is one of the most important towns in the Patiala Division. It was one of the Sarkars of the Suba of Agra under the Mughal Emperors. Ibrahim Khan, father of Sher Shah Sur, died here and his tomb still exists. This tomb represents the architecture of that time. In the reign of Akbar, Shah Quli Mukram adorned the town with buildings and large tombs.⁴

AKBAR

BAHLOLPUR (LUDHIANA): - This village is situated in Samrala tehsil near the bridge over the Budha Mala twenty seven miles from Ludhiana. It was founded in the reign of Akbar by two Afghans, Bahlol Khan and Bahadur Khan, whose descendants resided there until 1947. There is a tomb of Hasain Khan, a brick tomb built in the times of Akbar which is still in a fair condition. There are also the tombs of Nawab Bahadur Khan, Alawal Khan, Daud Khan, Kamal-ud-din and of some other important

1. The remains of the Serais and Baolis (wells) erected by the Mughal Emperors.
2. Gujrat District Gazetteer, P. 15
Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. II, Blochman, P. 300
Bhatner had a brick fort. Ibid. P. 399
3. Phulkian State Gazetteer, P. 188. Under Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal sovereigns, Sirhind was one of the most flourishing cities of the Empire, and the capital of the Suba of Sirhind.
4. Phulkian States Gazetteer, P. 197
Ain-i-Akbari-Vol. I, Blochman, P. 399-607

persons, which were all built in the times of Shah Jahan. 1

TIHARA (LUDHIANA):- One tomb, according to an inscription was built 978 A.H.(1570 A.D.) at Tihara in Ludhiana. The 'Maqbara' of Shah Be situated one mile west of the village of Tihara, is said to have been built in the times of Akbar. It was given the grant of 190 bighas of land for sustenance. During his rebellion while marching from Dipal to Jullundur, Bairam Khan passed over Tihara, where Abdullah defeated a party of his friends under Wali Beg.

KARNAL:- Masjid of Shaikh Tayub, was built by himself in the reign of Akbar in the Karnal District; here cupola is coated with enamel.

NARNAUL:- At the shrine of Nizam Shah at Narnaul, there are two mosques; one was built by Akbar and the other by his son Jahangir.

HISSAR:- The mosque and a tomb of Bahlol Shaki is about one mile east of Hissar on the Hansi Road. It was built in 1694 on the site of an old temple. The place is now called Dana-Sher. Sher Bahlol is said to have been a saint who had prognosticated to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq that he would one day be a king.

THE FORT OF ATTOCK:- The fort was built by Akbar at Attock in 1581 on his return from an expedition against his brother Mirza, Hakim, the Governor of Kabul, when the latter invaded the Panjab. He gave it the name of Attock Banaras in contradiction to that of Katak Banaras, the chief fort at the other extremity of his empire. It is a massive structure, built mostly for the purpose of defence of the frontier and is not of great architectural value. It is now in ruins.

PANJA SAHIB (HASAN ABDAL):- There are fine objects of architectural

2. • a ick fort on the Sattlej. There was 273,306
of land. (Ain-i-Akhari-Vol.II, Blochman,P.300)
- 3.Karnal District Gazetteer,P.813
- 4.Muziklan States Gazetteer,P.81
- 5.Bissar District Gazetteer,P.816
Ain-i-Akhari-Vol.i, Blochman, PP.32,60
- 6.Ibid.PP.150n,331,440n
Attark District Gazetteer,P.367

interest at Hasan Abdal, Attock District. It is known to the Sikhs as Panja Sahib in consequence of the mark of the hand of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, supposed to have been miraculously imprinted on the side of one of the tanks of the Sikh temple in the city, where it is still to be seen.¹

WAH (ATTOCK):- About two miles from Hassan Abdal in the direction of Rawalpindi, there are the ruins of a Mughal Sarai, said to have been halting place, built by the Emperor Akbar for use on his journeys to and from Kashmir. To the south of the Sarai on the opposite bank of the Haro, is situated the garden of Wah, formerly a resting place of the Great Mughal Emperors on their way to the valley of Kashmir.²

KHARAIN (GUJERAT):- There are two very large wells at Kharain in Gujerat district which are said to have been built under the orders of Akbar by Patch Ulla, son of Haji Habib Ullah at the cost of 11,000 Akbariruppes. The work was completed in 1604. The inscription is still to be seen there.

HELAN (GUJERAT):- There is a large tomb still in a very good order at Helan, district Gujerat. Slabs were let into the wells bearing inscriptions. There is tomb of Mirza Shaikh Ali Beg, an Amir of Emperor Akbar who built it in 1587.

CHOKANDI (GUJERAT):- Chokandi was also built by Akbar in 1590 and it was the first halting place after crossing Chenab in the royal progress from Delhi to Kashmir.³

JALALPUR (JHELM):- It was in Akbar's time that a new name Jalalpur, for Jhelum, was adopted in honour of the Emperor.⁴

SHAIKH ALIPUR (GUJERAT):- Mirza Shaikh Ali Beg, an Amir of Emperor

1. The name of Hasan Abdal, a town on the Ravi, contains the shrine of a celebrated Muslim saint known as Wli Qandhari (The Land of the Five Rivers-D.Ross,P.176)
 2. Gujerat District Gazetteer,P.15
 3. Ibid.P.18
 4. Jhelum District Gazetteer,PP.37-38

Akbar, who was killed in an encounter with Gakhars, laid the foundation of a village close to Helan, still called after him, Shaikh Ali-pur. The village is still in the possession of Mughal descendants and there exists Shaikh's large tomb in a very good order.¹

KALANDUR (GURDASPUR):- In 1556, Akbar was installed as Emperor on a masonry platform at Kalanour, sixteen miles west of Gurdaspur. The bricks from the dilapidated buildings were used as ballast for the Amritsar-Pathankot railway line. Four large wells and some small well with groves of few fine old mango trees are the only remains left of Akbar's courts and palaces.²

BATALA (GURDASPUR):- In 1557 Shamsheer Khan, foster brother of Akbar and the Krori of Batala, built a fine tank to the north-east of the town of Batala and planted gardens in the suburb known as Anarkali where his tomb still stands close to the tank which bears his name. city was enriched with a bazar and shops constructed in Aurangzeb's reign by Mirza Muhammad Khan, who received the title of Wasir Khan. A Jama Masjid was erected by Qazi Abdul Haq, and a fine garden in three terraces was constructed by Amar Singh Qamungo. The tomb of Shuhab-ud-din Bukhari still stands there. Batala was given by the Emperor to his foster brother, who neither left any stone unturned nor was reluctant to incur the necessary expenses in improving the town.³

MAHATPUR (JULLUNDUR):- Mahatpur, a village in Jullundur district, is of considerable antiquity, and is mentioned in Ain-i-Akhari under the name of Muhammadpur. It was refounded in the time of Akbar by Muhammad Khan, who was an Afghan horse dealer and considered the country to be suitable for rearing stock. Some architectural remains, though in ruins are still to be seen there.⁴

1. Ibid. P. 16

2. Gurdaspur District Gazetteer, P. 15

3. The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh-Ross, P. 202

4. Jullundur District Gazetteer, PP. 291-292

HARIANA (HOSHIARPUR) :- There are two mosques in Haryana, Hoshiarpur district the first Mufti's and the second that of Qazi. The former is a small one in the west of the town. Its spandrills are adorned with horses in stucco. It has an inscription which states that the mosque was built in the reign of Akbar in (1597-98), by Haji Sambal Khan. The date is given in figures and in the chronogram. The Qazi's mosque is a little larger and of somewhat later date and without any inscription.

In fact the new style of architecture under Akbar produced a profound effect on buildings all over the country including those of the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan. The palaces built during the reign of Akbar at Amber, Bikaner, Jodhpur, and Daultia indicate unmistakable Mughal influence. Even Hindu temples could not escape the nationalisation effect of Akbar's architecture. Hindu temples at Vrindaban show clearly that their certain features were borrowed from the contemporary style of the Mughals.

JAHANGIR

THE KHAMABAGAH OF JAHANGIR (LAHORE CITY) :- It is a marble sleeping pavillion which stood within a large quadrangle enclosed on three sides by a colonade of red stone pillars, intricately carved with bracket capitals, consisting of the figures of peacocks, elephants and griffins. In the centre of the fourth side, which over-looked the Ravi, stood a pavillion, in the Mughal style of architecture and on either side at the point of contact of the colonade with the outer wall were two chambers with verandahs of elaborately carved pillars supporting a sloping 'abhaya' in the Hindu style.

SHAHJAHAN GARDENS AND JAHANGIR'S TOMB (LAHORE CITY) :- The Shahjahan gardens owe their existence to the tomb of Jahangir raised by his devoted widow, Nur Jahan, in memory of her husband. The gardens probably grew

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 104.
 2. *Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, p. 319.
 3. *Lahore*—Muhammad Latif, pp. 104-106.

up gradually around the tomb. The tomb itself is a very striking building and its four high minarets with their graceful cupolas of white marble are visible for miles round. The tomb is approached by four corridors leading from the garden, three of which are closed by perforated marble screens. The sarcophagus is of marble decorated with coloured inlay. At the head is a Persian inscription "The illumined resting place of His Majesty the asylum of pardon Nur-ud-din Jahangir Badshah."

ANARKALI'S TOMB (LAHORE CITY):— Anarkali, the title given to Nadira Begum or Sharif-ill-Nisas, a favourite slave girl of Emperor Akbar, who being suspected of the offence of returning a smile from Jahangir, his son, was buried alive. The edifice was executed by Jahangir in 1615. It was once used as the station Church and Pro-cathedral, and then the store house for the Secretariat Records of the Panjab. The marble tomb which stood beneath the central dome, bears the following Persian inscription:—

آه گر من باز بینم روی یار نوشین را - تا قیامت شکر گویم کردگار نوشین را
 Ah: Could I behold the face of my beloved once more
 I would give thanks unto my God unto the day of resurrection

THE MOTI MASJID (LAHORE CITY):— The most unpretentious but exquisite building inside the fort is the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque), which was completed at a cost of three hundred thousand rupees during Jahangir's reign. It is an instance of supreme perfection of art combined with simplicity. Formerly, it was the private Chapel Royal of the ladies of the imperial harem.

PIND DADAN KHAN (JHELUM):— Pind Dadan Khan was founded in 1623 by Dadan Khan, the head of the family of Khokhar Rajputs. Kot Sultan and Kot Sahib Khan were built subsequently by the chiefs of the same tribe.

1. Lahore
2. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture—Fergusson, PP. 317-318
3. Lahore, Muhammad Latif, P. 126
4. Jhelum District Gazetteer, P. 278. Opposite Miani, on the right bank of the river Jhelum, is situated Pind Dadan Khan, the head quarters of the Salt Department of West Pakistan.

PASRUR (SIALKOT):- Pasrur, about 20 miles south of Sialkot, was once a place of considerable size and importance. Traces of its former prosperity remain in and about the town, amongst which is a large tank constructed during the reign of Jahangir. It is now fed by cutting down the Degh stream. A canal was built for the same purpose by Dara Shikoh. The remains of the canal and the bridge which were built by Shah Daula, are still discernible on the Amritsar road. To the north of the town is the grave known as Mehra Manga-di-Mar. It is held in much repute by the Bajwa Jats of the district.

PINDORI (GURDASPUR):- There is a temple constructed at Pindori, seven miles to the east of Gurdaspur, on the right bank of the river Beas in the shape of a Muslim domed tomb. The place was much resorted to by the Mughals and the rulers of Kashmir and Kangra Hills. There are thirteen samadhs (tombs) representing thirteen gaddis (thrones). A copper plate, on which are inscribed the terms of the grant of pasture² by the Emperor Jahangir, is still preserved at the shrine.

SADHAURA (AMBALA):- Two old gateways of Sadhaura, built of red bricks³ in 1628 according to an inscription a stone let into one of the arches, withstood the savages of time.

BASTI (JULLUNDUR):- Basti Danishmandan, originally Ibrahimpur, was founded by Ansari Shaikhs from Kani in 1606. Basti Shaikh Darvesh, originally Surajabad, was founded by Shaikh Darvesh, also an Ansari from Muni Kuram, in 1614. Basti Ghazan, was founded in the reign of Shah Jahan by Baraki Pathans of the Ghas Section, who are the disciples of Shaikh Darvesh. Basti Baba Khel, originally called Bebarpur, was founded in 1620-21 by Barakzai Pathans of the Baba Khel Clan. In Basti Shaikh Darvesh there are the mosque and tomb of Shaikh Darvesh, which

1 Japan

ROSS, P. 142

2. Dental is situated at four miles
rian Road.

S. Ambala District Gazetteer, P. 22

were built in the Pathan style, and two temples and a tank, known as Dhab Balia Hasi Das, which were built in 1703.

KARTARPUR (JULLUNDUR):-Kartarpur, forty miles from Amritsar and nine miles from Jullundur city, is situated on the Grand Trunk Road. It was built in 1588 by Guru Arjan. The site was granted to his father ¹ Guru Ram Dass by Emperor Jahangir.

NIKODAR (JULLUNDUR):-Nikodar possesses two fine Muslim tombs, which are situated close together amongst some very fine old trees, the remains of a former garden. One of the tombs was built in 1612 during the reign of Jahangir and the other in 1657 near the close of Shah Jahan's reign. The former is popularly known as the tomb of the 'ustad' (teacher) and the latter as that of his pupil. These are both ornamented on the outside with various patterns in glazed tiles, but the work is not so good as that of the best examples at Agra and Lahore. But though similar in external decoration and in general style they are quite different in their designs.

There is a short inscription of one line over the entrance doorway on the south, which is repeated on the north side, indicating the date 1021 A.H.(1612 A.D.). There is also a Baradari, in which is ² situated the shrine of Bahadur Khan who died in the reign of Jahangir.

MUR MAHAL (JULLUNDUR):-The modern town of Nur Mahal in district Jullundur commemorates ^{em} the memory of Nur Jahan, the spouse of the Emperor Jahangir, and who is said to have been brought up here. She had the imperial Sarai constructed and had inhabited numerous families in her new town. The Sarai is 551 feet square outside, including the octagonal tower at the corner. The western gateway is a double storeyed building faced on the outside with red sand stone from the Fatehpur Sikri quarries. The whole front is divided into panels

1. . ss,P.
2. - - - . , .

ornamented with sculpture but the relief is fine and the workmanship coarse. There are angels and fairies, elephants and rhinoceroses, camels and horses, monkeys and peacocks with men on horse-back and archers on elephants. The sides of the gateway are in much better style, the ornament being limited to filigreed scroll work with birds sitting on the branches. But even in this the design is much better than the execution, as there is little relief. On the entrance, there is a long inscription. There was also a similar gateway on the western side, but this is now only a mass of ruin and all the stone facing has disappeared.¹

On the northern side of the courtyard there are thirty two rooms with a varandah in front. In each corner there were three rooms, one large and two small. Jahangir's apartment formed the central block of the southern side, three storeys in height. The rooms were well designed but all their charm is not clearly discernible under the white wash. The main room was oblong in shape with a half octagon recess on two sides similar to the large rooms in the corners of the Sarai.

²
The Sarai is said to have been built by Zakariya Khan the Nazim of the subah of Jullundur, during the reign of Jahangir. It was erected by the order of Nur Jahan. The inscription over the eastern gateway gives the date of erection A.H. 1028 (1619) A.D. It is remarkable for its exquisitely sculptured front.

- ed by the large size of the bricks that had been dug up as well as by numerous coins found there. Nur Mahal is said to have been built on the site of town called Kot Kalur or Kot Kahlur, which according to Mr. Barkley was place of importance and is said to have been ruin about 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.)
2. Zakarya Khan seems to be an energetic man. The inscription consists of six short lines shown as below:-
"Taking payment from travellers is forbidden, the Nawab Zakarya Khan Bahadur, Governor of the district, having exempted them. Should any Faujdar of the Doab collect these dues may his wives be divorced."
3. Inscription over the East Gate or Delhi Gate, *and*
Over the West or Lahori Gate.

BURIA (AMBALA):- There are the ruins of a Mughal palace called the Rang Mahal near Buria. It is said that Emperor Jahangir used to halt here on his way to his favourite hunting ground at Kalesar. Buria itself is said to have been the birth place of Birbar who was one of Akbar's ¹ ministers.

SIRHIND (PATIALA):- There was a garden of Khawaja Wais at Sirhind situated on the Grand Trunk Road, 28 miles north of Ambala. The Khawaja distinguished himself for his skill in architecture and for his taste in laying the foundations of gardens and ornamented grounds. "I found myself immediately in a covered avenue planted on each side with scarlet roses, and beyond them arose groves of cypress, fir, palms and ever-greens, variously disposed. We entered the garden, which now exhibited a variegated pattern, ornamented with flowers of the utmost brilliancy of colours and of the choicest kind." ² In the midst of this open pattern was a noble reservoir of water, and in the centre of this piece of water was an elegant and lofty pavillion, of eight sides, capacious enough to accommodate two hundred persons with convenient sitting room, and surrounded by a beautiful colonnade of trees. It was, moreover, two storeys high and the figures alluring to the eye were painted round it. The reservoir was environed with hewn stones and nearly two thousand water fowls supported on its bosom. Under the Mughal sovereigns, this city was one of the most flourishing cities of the Empire. It is said to have three hundred and sixty mosques, tombs, sarais and wells.

BANUR (PATIALA):- The ruins that surround Banur, nine miles north-east of Rajpura, testify its former importance. Its ancient name is said to have been pushpawati, the city of flowers. The town became a 'mahal' of the Mughal government of Sirhind under Akbar. There is a well known by the name of Banno Chhimban (Washer-woman), a famous

musician, who lived in the time of Jahangir. Chhat, seven miles east of Bamur, is another ancient village, closely connected with it. The ruins of old buildings, still to be seen, show that Chhat must have been one of the suburbs of Bamur. There are good many Muslim tombs. It contains an old fort also.

PHUL (BHATINDA):- The historic town of Phul, district Bhatinda was founded by Baba Phul in 1637 and is the ancestral home of the former rulers of Phulkian States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind. There is a Kacha fort and the shrine of Baba Phul.

SHAH JAHAN

HATHI PAON GATEWAY (LAHORE):- Returning to the fort entrance and then to the left, one passes under a second gateway of marble called the Hathi Paon. The entrance to the harem formerly was to the left, a stair case of broad steps, now destroyed. It was built in 1631. Shah Jahan ordered a tower to be erected which in height should be beyond measurement and conception, like up to the highest Heaven. In beauty, loftiness, and excellence, such a tower never has been and never will be seen under the sky. The road to the right by which the fort is now reached is work of the British.

DEWAN-I-AM (LAHORE):- In the centre of the Fort is the Takht of Shah Jahan of red and sand stone, which is the only existing example of its kind. In this Dewan-i-Am (Hall of Audience) the Emperor daily sat in state and as he took his seat the musicians stationed in the 'Niqar Khana' opposite struck up a martial strain, while a glittering pageant of men horses and elephants passed in review before Shah Jahan. It

1. ... , PP. ...

2. Pers ... spr ... on

3. "The gate of the fort was called Hathi Paon or Elephant Foot gate, because ladies of the Harem, when going out for an airing passed through it on their elephants". (Lahore-Muhammad Latif, P. 21)

4. (نقارخانه) A band of music, the place at the porch of a palace where the drums are beaten at stated intervals.

is remarkable for the Hindu character of the details, especially pillars of the red stone consoles supporting the eaves which are in the form of elephants and other conventional animals, precisely similar to those to be found in the Hindu temples.¹

ARZBEGI (LAHORE):- In the enclosure of the Fort and Palace of Lahore there is a ruined building on arches immediately beneath a marble pavillion with perforated lattice work. This was the Ars Begi, where the (nobles) of the court assembled in the morning to receive the emperor's commands.²³

THE KHAWAB GAH OF SHAHJAHAN (LAHORE):- The Khawabgah of Shah Jahan is an elegant little pavillion of marble arches and open lattice work immediately over the Ars Begi mentioned above. In this pavillion, protected by curtains hanging from rings in the walls, the Emperor slept, and on rising showed himself at the marble windows to the nobles gathered below. The upper frieze is an inlay of cornelian etc. and gracefully designed.⁴

THE SHISH MAHAL (LAHORE):- The Shish Mahal is a much more striking object, the iridescent sheen to its myriad fragments of looking glass of different colours set in arabesque, patterns of white cement at once attracted the visitor's attention. This is the work of both Shah Jahan and his son Aurangzeb. The artistic execution of the 'Shish' (Mirror) work, though brilliant, narrowly escapes the charge of vulgarity, especially when contrasted with the marble inlay of the 'Naulakha' and of the spandrels of the marble arches on the inner side of the 'Shish Mahal'. In the small rooms leading to the upper tower are fair specimens of the wooden ceiling made in geometrical patterns, gaily painted and gilded, which produce a remarkable effect of intri-

1.

Arz Begi

P. 124

2. Ars Begi or Usher or an introducer

3. Lahore-Muhammad Latif, P. 125

4. Ibid.

5. Palace of Mirros

easy and richness. The principle on which their elaborately panelled ceilings are constructed is of the same pattern which was adopted¹ in similar work at Cairo.

WAZIR KHAN'S MOSQUE (LAHORE):- The mosque of Wazir Khan was built² in 1634 by Hakim Alim-ud-din, a Pathan of Chinot who rose to the position of Wazir in the reign of Shah Jahan. It is remarkable for the profusion and excellence of the inlaid pottery decorations in the panelling of the walls. Its origin is manifestly Persian, and the descendants of the draftsmen employed to this day pride themselves on their Persian origin. In these arabesques each leaf and each detached portion of the white ground is a separate piece of pot or tile, and that the work is strictly inlay and not painted decoration. The panels of pottery are set in hard mortar. In the mosque itself are some very good specimen of Perso-Indian arabesque painting on the smooth lime walls. This work, which is very freely painted and good in style, is true fresco painting, the buono fresco of the Italians and, like the inlaid, ceramic work, is now no longer in vogue modern decoration being usually fresco or more distemper painting. Though its builder was a native of the Panjab, its style is more Perso-Mughal and less Indian than that of any other building in the city. Two chronograms inscribed on the walls give the date of the foundation of the mosque.⁴

SHALAMAR GARDENS (LAHORE):- Shalamar Gardens were laid out in 1647 by the order of the Emperor Shah Jahan. Ali Mardan Khan and Nawab Fazl Khan were commanded to build for the Emperor a garden like that of paradise. They accordingly laid out the garden in seven divisions, symbolic of seven stages of the Paradise of Islamic conception, of

1. -H. ... a ...

2. ... oss, PP. 107-108

3. ... egen says ... were sent for expressly from China to execute the work, but there is no historical evidence for this.

4. "Sajid gah-i-Ahl-Fazl and Banai Masjid Wazir Khan."

these four have been destroyed and three only are included in the present area, which covers about thirty nine acres. The garden itself has the stately formality and symmetry usual in the east. The parallelogram bounding all is sub-divided into squares and in the centre is a reservoir bordered by an elaborately indented coping and studded with pipes for jets d'eau. A cascade falls into it on a slab of marble corrugated in an ornamental carved deeper.

Roshan Ara, Shah Jahan's daughter was a poetess and had a great love for the flowers and the fall of water in the gardens. She had a special attachment with Shalamar Gardens of Lahore and drew her inspiration from the picturesque scenery presented by the fascinating waterfall (abshār) at the centre of the gardens. One day the princess was enjoying the sparkling water on this waterfall descending on the slope of marble, forming the artificial fall, and was all ear to the sound so produced when the following verses came to her lips spontaneously:-

"Ai Abshār nauyāgar az bahr-i-kīstī
 Sar dar nigūn figandā ze andoh-i-kīstī
 Aya chi dard bud ki chun ma tamām shab
 Sar rā bā sang misadi-o-nigiristi " 2

"Whose absence, O Waterfall are thou
 lamenting so loudly?
 Why acute was thy pain that throughout
 the night,
 Restless, like me, thou wast striking thy head
 against the stone and shedding tears profusely"

THE CHAUBURJI (LAHORE):- At the end of the old Mall on the right side of the Multan Road, is the fine gateway, commonly called the Chauburji, once the entrance into the garden of Zabida Begum, one of the daughters of Shah Jahan and an authoress who, in her shady retreat on the banks of the Ravi composed a volume of mystical poems (Dewan-i-

1. Shala means, house (Sanskrit) and Mar means joy (Persian) - house of Joy.

2. J. R. S. A., January 10, 1936, p. 238

۱۔ ای آبشار نو گراں گزینی؟ لرد زنگون انگنده زانده کیستی؟
 تر یا چه درد بود که چون مقام شب - لردا بشت میزدی و گیسریستی

P.T.O.
 زیب النساء

¹
Makhti) which are still read and admired.

DHAUNKAL (GUJRANWALA):- The house of the great saint Sakhi Sarwar, at Dhanukal district Gujranwala was turned into a mosque in the time of Shah Jahan. The well attached to it, was also much improved and beautified.²

DASKA (SIALKOT):- It is said to be founded during the reign of Shah Jahan, as it appears from the papers in the possession of the Qamunges of the town, and originally named Shah Jahanabad. During the later Afghan invasions it is said to have been depopulated, its inhabitants taking shelter in the mud fort of Kot Daska.³

DIPALPUR (MONTGOMERY):- The important buildings in the very old town of Dipalpur are the temples of Lahu Jas Raj where an annual fair is held in the month of February. There is an old mosque, built in the time of Khan Khanan, Wazir of Shah Jahan, and a tomb of Imam Shah, where also an annual fair is held. It is said that Hazarat Behawal Shah himself built a mosque and a Hujra and the town was given the name of Hujra Shah Mukim because of its being the birth place of Hazrat Shah Mukim.⁴⁵

SHAH NAHAR (GURDASPUR):- The celebrated engineer Ali Mardan Khan in 1639 in accordance with the instructions of Emperor Shah Jahan, started the construction of Shah Nahar, in Gurdaspur district to carry the waters to Shalimar Gardens near Lahore. Alal-ul-Mulk or Fazl Khan remodelled and completed the work within this district.

2. The a r ere use ,P. attended by ten thousand persons from all over adjoining districts of the Panjab and Jammu Kashmir State
3. Sialkot District Gazetteer, P.11
4. 16, miles south of Okara stands Dipalpur, on the old high bank of the Beas. In the time of Akbar and his successors this was the chief town of the district yielding a revenue of over 32 laes. Babar after taking Lahore, marched and stormed Dipalpur in 1524. It was rebuilt by Mirza Abdur Rahim about 1599. (The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh-Ross, PP.113-114)
5. Montgomery District Gazetteer, PP.73-77

SIRI HARGOBINDPUR (GURDASPUR):- Siri Hargobindpur, 18 miles north west of Batala on the right bank of the Beas was refounded by the six-¹th Sikh Guru Hargobind, which was formerly known as Rahila a word which was considered most unlucky to pronounce in the early morning, owing to the curse of the Gurus to the effect that all who would do so should have no wife nor family. It ranks next to Amritsar as a place of sanctity and pilgrimage to the Sikhs.²

PHILLAUR (JULLUNDUR):- The modern town of Phillaur, situated on the right bank of the Satlej dates from the time of Shah Jahan when the site, then covered with ruins, was re-occupied having been selected for the erection of a Sarai on the Imperial line of the road from Delhi to Lahore.³

RAHON (JULLUNDUR):- There is an old Sarai which, as is asserted, was built in the reign of Shah Jahan (1637-58) at Rahon. There are 39⁴ mosques and 24 temples which were built during the Mughal period.

DAKHANI SARAI (JULLUNDUR):- Dakhani Sarai, 5 miles from Nikodar is an old Sarai built by Shah Jahan and had been used as a leper asylum. The style is Muslim of the late Mughal period. The interior surfaces of the gateways are covered with brilliant tile work of the mosaic class.

PHAGWARA:- The town Phagwara, which is situated 13 miles south east of Jullundur, was founded in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan.⁵

RAHAUN (LUHLANA):- A mosque of brick was built at Rahaun about two miles from Khanna railway station to the east, in the reign of Shah Jahan, which still stands there.⁶

BASSI (SIRHIND):- At Bassi (Sirhind) is the shrine of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani, a descendant of Shahab-ud-Din Farukh Shah Alfamqi,

1. Gurdaspur District Gazetteer (1914), P. 16
 2. Gurdaspur District Gazetteer, P. 17
 3. The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh-Ross, P. 221
 4. Jullundur District Gazetteer, P. 304
 5. Kanurthala State Gazetteer, P. 44
 6. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, P. 230

the Kabuli, who came to India from Kabul. The family first settled in Sunam, but Imam Rafi-ud-Din took up his abode in Sirhind in the time of Firoz Shah. Mujaddid, his descendant in the sixth generation, was born there in 1563 A.D. He was a disciple of Baqi Billa of Delhi and founded the Naqshbandi Mujaddadia order in India, introducing the practice of Zikr-i-khafi or silent prayer. He wrote many religious works of which the Maktubat is the most important. He died at Sirhind in 1617 A.D. at the age of sixty four. His tomb is the principal shrine of the Naqshbandis in India, and is a beautiful structure, built in the reign of Shah Jahan. The 'urs' is held on the 27th of Safar and is the occasion of a considerable gathering. Pilgrims from Kabul visit this shrine. The Naqshbandis absolutely forbid music and singing, but they are said to advocate the use of fine clothes and ¹luxurious food.

KOTLA (MALARKOTLA):- The ancestors of the reigning family of this Muslim town came from Kabul, and held high offices in Sirhind under the Great Mughal Emperors. Bayazid Khan, the fifth in descent from Sadr-ud-din founded Kotla in 1656. The name of Kotla is said to be ²derived from the kot (fort) or wall which was built round the town in the said year.

SHAHABAD (SEHAB):- The royal Sarai is one of the oldest buildings in the town of Shahabad, district Karnal. It was constructed earlier, but was protected in the time of Shah Jahan by a fortified wall built in a style which reminds us of the Red Fort at Delhi. It comprised the residence of certain Mughal officials, but it is most probable that the sarai also was connected by the main road to Delhi passing through ³it.

1.

e, pp.

2

, P. 44

v

-Ross, P. 225

3.

e, pp.

AURANGZEB

THE JAMA MOSQUE (LAHORE):- The Jama Masjid is the most striking building in Lahore and its white domes and lofty towers may be seen from ¹ miles round. The gateway opens on a large quadrangle paved with bricks and over-shadowed by two rows of 'pipal' trees. The absence of side entrances and the position of the minarets at the four corners of the quadrangle give to the building a very grim appearance, and we miss the graceful symmetry which is so pleasing in the Delhi mosque. There is moreover, a defective style, the cornices at the side are plain in the extreme and minarets, divested of their cupolas which were so shattered in the earth quake of 1840. The flight of steps is paved with a beautifully variegated stone from Kabul hills known as 'Abri'. This stone is also found in the Kowaget hills in the Rawalpindi district, and was favourite material with Muhammadan buildings for inlaid ³ floors.

THE SAMMAN BURJ AND MAULAKHA (LAHORE):- There was only one part of Lahore Fort and palace which had not been put to some practical use. This was the Samman Burj. ² Although it does not merit the agant eulogy of the inscription, an examination of its parts will be found interesting. There is a small, though costly, marble pavillion, inlaid with flowers, wrought in precious stones and known by the significant name of the Nan Lakha or the building which cost nine lakhs. This delicate and beautiful work belongs to the time of Aurangzeb, and it is distinguished from other architectural forms near it by the curvilinear roof. The inlay, much of which has unfortunately been destroyed ⁴ is remarkable for excessive minuteness and artistic skill.

1. The inscription on the gateway was set up in the year of 1074 A.H. (1674 A.D.)

2. Lahore District Gazetteer, PP. 253-258

3. 'Samman' is an abbreviation of the Arabic word Musamman meaning octagonal.

4. Lahore-Muhammad Latif, P. 125

NAURANGABAD (GUJRAT):- The serai of Naurangabad, district Gujerat was built by the Emperor Aurangzeb, who gave his title of Alamgir, to it.

MAGHIANA (JHANG):-The present town of Maghiana, fifty six miles north west of Chechawatni was founded during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1688 by a Sanyasi Faqir, Lal Nath, the thirteenth descendant of Shiv Sant Kumar who dwelt in the Nath Sahib in the centre of the town.

SARAI LASHKARI KHAN (LUDHIANA):- Sarai Lashkari Khan, district Ludhiana eight miles west of Khanna on the Grand Trunk Road, similar to that at Khanna was built in the time of Aurangzeb, the interior of which is now used for cultivation.

ANANDPUR (HOSHIAHPUR):- About fifty miles from Hoshiarpur is the sacred Sikh town of Anandpur, the abode of bliss, founded by Guru Gobind Singh in 1678. It is situated at the foot of the Naina Devi Peak on the left bank of the Satlej.

Guru Ka Mahal was built about the year 1660, when the town of Anandpur was founded. There is an under-ground cell Bhara Sahib. Gurdwara of Keshgarh was also built in 1699. Gurdwara Anandgarh Dandana Sahib, Manji Sahib, Tilla Lohgarh (Stronghold of the tenth Sikh Guru),

2. reper Sarai of Naurangabad, which is a village half a distant and altogether out of the Alangir lands, which were granted to certain Khattris to preserve the Sarai. But during the Sikh Rule there was a cantonment at Naurangabad. (Quirat District Gazetteer, P. 16)

3. The Land of the Five Rivers-D. Ross, PP. 105-106

4. ~~SECRET~~ ~~INDEX~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~, PP. 315-316

Harmandir Sahib, the Shish Mahall, Takhat Sahib, Patalpuri and Khanga Budhan Shah (a Muhammadan Saint), samadh of Baba Gurditta are all¹ the important architectural places built during the Mughal rule.

SULTANPUR (KAPURTHALA):- It is situated at a distance of sixteen miles to the south of Kapurthala. It was founded, according to the tradition, by Sultan Khan Lodi, a general of Mahmud of Ghazni. The ruins of five huge old bridges over the Bein stream, as is maintained, were constructed in the time of Sher Shah which still survive the wages of time. A little down the stream is a second handsome bridge built in the time of Aurangzeb, which is still in a good condition. There is also a fine Sarai, erected about the same period, which is now used as the Tahsil building. Several buildings of no architectural interest² are connected with Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion.

JAIJON (HOSHIAURPUR):- Raja Ram Singh who began to reside at Jaijon, had constructed the fort in 1701 A.D. This place commanded the pass³ in the hills of Shivalik.

BAHADURGARH (PATIALA):- The village Saifabad, four miles from Patiala in which the fort (of Bahadurgarh) is situated, took its name from Saif Khan brother of Nawab Fidal Khan, who founded it in the time of Emperor Aurangzeb. The date of founding the village is given by Shaikh Naser Ali Sirhindi, a popular poet of that time in an inscription on the inner gate of the fort.⁴ The mosque in front of the palace was built by Saif Khan in 1077 A.H. (1688 A.D.) as the inscription on the⁵ doorway of the mosque denotes Saif Khan is the founder of this mosque.

PANJOUR (PATIALA):- Fidal Khan, foster brother of Aurangzeb turned out the Hindu Raja of Mahan in 1661 and established his own residence

1. The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh-Ross, P. 213

2. Kapurthala State Gazetteer, P. 45

3. This fort was taken by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1815. (Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer (1904), P. 234)

4. "Abad namud Saif Khan Saifabad". 1067 A.H. (1688 A.D.)

5. Banie een Masjid Imam Saif Khan

at Panjaur, a small village about three miles south of Kalka and fifteen miles north of Chandigarh. He was a great man of skill and architectural taste. He laid out a beautiful terraced garden in imitation of the Shalimar Garden of Lahore and built magnificent mansions the glory of which is still discernible to the present day. He dug a canal at the foot of the neighbouring hill and brought it to the garden to irrigate its numerous grass plants and flower beds and to feed its springs which added to the grandeur of the place. The garden was known for its red roses. According to Sujan Rai there existed at Panjaur towards the end of the 17th century, an old Hindu temple of great sanctity, known as Bhima Devi which is no more there¹ now.

HADIYA (BARNALA): -This town contains a Gurdawara (Sikh temple) of Guru Teg Bahadur and a large tank at which a large fair is held in April.

After the death of Aurangzeb, the style completely deteriorated and the buildings that were erected during the first half of the 18th century revealed degeneration of taste and artless design.

Art and architecture reached its zenith during the Mughal period. But it was not a Minerva-like creation, springing full grown from one head of man, but it was a continuous development of art and architecture, which culminated during the reign of Shah Jahan, who was a great patron of art and architecture. During his reign many buildings were constructed, in the structure of which, is clearly discernible the decoration and effeminacy, which are to be distinguished from the simple austerity of the Turkish buildings. The seeds of the real progress of art were sown when Babar who was a great lover of art came to India; but he had neither time nor resources to develop art and architecture. Humayun who always lived in the opium-eater's

1. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh-Sujan Rai Bhandari (Zaffar Hussain), P.35
The Land of the Five Rivers-D.Ross, P.234

paradise, was devoid of aesthetic taste. Akbar began to patronise it. The simplicity of the buildings of Akbar's reign, who was the first Mughal Emperor to patronise art and architecture, is to be distinguished from the profuse embellishment and effeminacy of the buildings of Shah Jahan's reign during which art reached the climax. After Shah Jahan there was anti-climax, because Aurangzeb was too austere and abstuse to have the aesthetic sense. An account of important roads and routes, during the Great Mughals is given in Appendix-D.

APPENDIX-A

GOVERNORS OF THE PANJAB
(1526-1707 A.D.)

1. Mir Munis Ali	1527-1530 A.D.
2. Mirza Kamran	1530-1540 "
3. Khawas Khan-Muhabat Khan	1540-1545 "
4. Khawaja Vais Sarwani	1545-1553 "
5. Sikander Shah Sur	1553-1555 "
6. Farhat Khan	1555-1555 "
7. Shah Abul Ma'li	1555-1556 "
8. Hussain Khan Tukriya	1556-1557 "
9. Farhat Khan Mihtar	1557-1560 "
10. Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan	1560-1566 "
11. Mir Muhammad	1566-1568 "
12. Husain Quli Khan	1568-1575 "
13. Shah Quli Muharam	1575-1578 "
14. Sa'id Khan	1578-1585 "
15. Imperial Head Quarters	1585-1598 "
16. Khawaja Shamas-ud-din Khawafi	1598-1600 "
17. Zain Khan Koka	1600-1601 "
18. Mirza Qulij Khan	1601-1605 "
19. Sa'id Khan	1605-1605 "
20. Dilawar Khan	1605-1610 "
21. Shaikh Farid (Murtza Khan)	1610-1616 "
22. Sadiq Khan	1616-1624 "
23. Asaf Khan	1624-1628 "
24. Wazir Khan	1628-1637 "
25. Ali Mardan Khan	1637-1644 "
26. Gulich Khan	1644-1647 "
27. Jafar Khan	1647-1659 "
28. Khalil-Ullah Khan	1659-1661 "
29. Ibrahim Khan	1661-1667 "
30. Muhammad Amin Khan	1667-1672 "
31. Fidi Khan	1672-1672 "
32. Amanat Khan	1672-1678 "
33. Qawam-ud-din Khan	1678-1680 "
34. Muhammad Azim	1680-1691 "
35. Khan Jahan Bahadur	1691-1691 "
36. Muqarram Khan	1691-1697 "
37. Abu Nasir Khan	1697-1697 "
38. Abraham Khan	1697-1700 "
39. Prince Muhammad Muazzam	1700-1705 "
40. Zabardast Khan	1705-1705 "
41. Prince Muhammad Muazzam	1705-1707 "

APPENDIX - B

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

1

The Panjab was parcelled out into five assessment circles as mentioned ^{elsewhere} above, generally known as Doabs, which were divided into 234 Parganas. The total area of measured land rose from 1,61,55,643 Bighas in 1594 to 2,43,19,960 Bighas in 1720 A.D.

The territorial division was, however, assessed for the revenue assessment in 1594, during Akbar's reign, which changed from time to time till the death of the last Great Mughal.

DIVISIONS:

1594	5	Doabs	232 Mahals
1665	14	Sarkars	314 Parganas
1695	5	Doabs	316 Mahals
1700			458 Mahals
1720	5	Doabs	329 Mahals

SARKARS: 1594 1695 1720

Jullundur Doab, 60 mahals (The 5 Doabs Jullundur Doab, 69 of the Ain)	
Bari Doab, 52	Bari Doab, 57 Mahals
Rechna Doab, 57	Rechna Doab, 49 Mahals
Chinhat Doab, 21	Chinhat Doab, 22 Mahals
Sind Sagar Doab, 42	Sind Sagar Doab, 42 Mahals
	Kangra Doab, 63 Mahals

Area and Revenue:- The Total area of measured land rose from 1,61,55,643 Bighas in 1594 to 2,43,19,960 Bighas in 1720 A.D.

<u>Sarkars</u>	<u>AREA IN BIGHAS</u>		<u>REVENUE IN RUPEES</u>	
	1594	1720	1594	1720
Jalandhar	32,79,303	39,39,518	31,09,130	35,93,751
Bari	45,80,003	52,39,857	35,70,204	49,33,751

1. - - - ol.I, Jarre t, PP. -

2. .P.3

3. Munshi Sujjan Rai Bhandal^{ari} writes that the province was divided into Doabs instead of Sarkars.

4. The Ain-i-Akbari-Blochman, P.315, gives 234 Parganas in the preliminary statement, but by adding together the Mahals of the Sarkars, we get 232 Mahals.

Rechna	42,53,148	98,52,010	42,01,192	10,66,088
Chinhat	26,33,210	40,41,809	16,12,560	23,17,218
Sind Sagar	14,09,929	12,56,771	12,97,805	35,14,984
Kangra	--	--	--	14,51,346

The total provincial revenue was:-

in 1594	Rs. 1,39,86,460
" 1648	Rs. 2,25,00,000
" 1654	Rs. 2,72,43,994
" 1665	Rs. 2,46,95,000
" 1695	Rs. 2,23,34,500
" 1697	Rs. 2,33,95,500
" 1700	Rs. 2,23,25,985
" 1707	Rs. 22,06,53,302
" 1720	Rs. 1,45,29,765 (excluding Kangra)
	Rs. 1,59,81,111 (including Kangra)

According to Babar the details of the revenue in 1528 was as follows:

The Divisions of Bhira, Lahore,	= 3,33,15,980 Tanks
Sialkot and Dipalpur (Trans-Satluj)	
Sirhind	= 1,29,31,985 Tanks
Hissar Feroza	= 1,30,75,174 Tanks

Chatarman, the author of the Chahar Gulshan, who wrote his treatise in 1759, gives the details of Doabs of the Panjab as follows:

DETAILS OF DOABS

1. Beas Jalandhar 59 Mahals, of 15 of which records not received of 7 more area unknown. Remaining 47 Mahals; area 39,39,512 ⁴/₂₀ Bighas; 5,784 mauzas; revenue 14,37,50,069 Dam (Rs. 35,93,751-11-7.)

Hilly	28 Mahals	2,71,00,070 Dam
Plain	19 Mahals	11,65,80,069 Dam
	47 Mahals	14,36,80,139 Dam

2. Bari Doab 57 Mahals, of 21 of which records not obtained. Remaining 36 Mahals, area 52,39,857 Bighas; 4,678 mauzas; revenue 19,73,50,057 Dam (Rs. 49,33,751-6-10.)

3. Rechna Doab 49 Mahals, of 6 of which are unknown. Remaining 43 Mahals; area 98,52,010 Bighas; 4,693 mauzas; revenue 4,26,43,315 Dam (Rs. 10,66,087-14-0).

Mandyat (?)	12 Mahals	34,13,340 Dam
Baharjat(?)	26 Mahals	4,20,30,440 Dam
	38 Mahals	4,54,43,780 Dam

. er ge, .

Parganahs 30 Mahals 20,12,94,241 Dam

4. Chunhat Doab 22 Mahals, of 3 of which records not received; of 5 more area unknown. Remaining 14 Mahals area 40,41,809 Bighas; 7,583 mauzas; revenue 9,26,88,735 Dam (Rs.23,17,218-6.)

Hilly	11 Mahals	1,75,55,699 Dam
Plain	<u>11 Mahals</u>	<u>7,51,33,241 Dam</u>
	22 Mahals	9,26,88,940 Dam

5. Sindh Sagar Doab..... 48 Mahals, of 17 of which records not received, of 19 more area unknown. Remaining 12 Mahals; area 12,56,77¹²/₂₀ Bighas; 2,177 mauzas; revenue 14,05,99,371 Dam (Rs.35,14,984-4-5).

Hilly	36 Mahals	11,10,83,571 Dam
Plain	<u>12 Mahals</u>	<u>2,95,15,500 Dam</u>
	48 Mahals	14,05,99,071 Dam

6. Kangra (outside the Doab region), 63 Mahals, of 32 of which record not received, of 25 others area unknown. Remaining 6 Mahals; 311 mauza revenue 5,80,53,832 Dam (Rs.14,51,345-12-10).

The different totals (including of Kangra) are given below:

Total	Sarkars	Mahals	Area in Bigha	Mauzas	Revenue in Dam
S.	5	308	2,43,29,96 ¹⁶ / ₂₀	25,226	67,50,85,579
P.	5	329	2,43,19,960	30,256	58,11,90,599
A.	5	232	1,61,55,643 ³ / ₂₀	--	55,94,58,423

7. Hissar 28 Mahals, of 7 of which area unknown. Remaining 21 Mahals; area 71,48,184 Bighas; 2,373 mauzas; revenue 8,83,79,328 Dam (Rs.22,09,493-3-2).

8. Sirhind 38 Mahals, of 3 of which area unknown. Remaining 35 Mahals; area 1,57,86,388 Bighas; revenue 24,32,49,082 Dam (Rs.60,81,227-0-10).

MULTAN

DETAILS OF SARKARS

1. Multan 53 Mahals, of which 17 unsettled. Remaining 36 Mahals; 3,532 mauzas, revenue 12,72,27,352 Dam (Rs.31,80,683-12-10).

2. Dipalpur..... 24 Mahals, of one of which statistics not obtained. Remaining 23 Mahals; area 44,54,206¹⁵/₂₀ Bighas; 4,643 Mauzas; revenue

2,63,97,258 Dam (Rs.6,59,931-3-2).

During the reign of Akbar the local force consisted of 654,480¹
cavalry and 426,086 infantry.

APPENDIX - C

THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

There were stronger forts for the general or external defence of the country, already mentioned under the title of "Faujdars" and in addition to those there were smaller stone, brick and mud forts built for the maintenance of the internal peace of the province, the details of which are given below.

(i) Sarkar of the Bet Jalandhar:- There were eleven stone forts at Bhalon, Tatarpur, Jason Balakoti, Dadial, Dadah, Rajpurpattan, Siba, Kutlehar, Kheunkhera, Gangot, and there were three brickforts at Jullundur, Dasuya and Sultanpur. Total number of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts including 48 other small stations was 4,155¹ and 79,436 respectively.

(ii) Sarkar of the Bari Doab:- There was a stone fort at Kangra and a brick fort at Pathankot. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts including other forty eight small stations² was 31,055 and 1,29,300 respectively.

(iii) Sarkar of Rechna Doab:- Stone forts were situated at Jammu, Mankot and the brick forts at Eminabad, Patti Zafarwal and Chiniot. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts³ was 6,795 and 99,652 respectively.

(iv) Chenhat (Jeoh) Doab:- There were only two brick forts situated at Khokhar (Gakhar) and Hazara. The total strength of cavalry and infantry including twenty more small stations was 3,730 and 44,200

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.II, Jarrett, PP.320-321

2. Ibid. PP.322-323

3. Ibid. PP.323-324

¹
respectively.

(v) Sindh Sagar Doab:- Stone forts were situated at Attock, Paharh Suburban, Kahwan, Mallot and Makhial. There was only one brick fort at Mandanpur, situated on a hill. The total strength of the cavalry and infantry on these frontier forts and other 33 small stations was 8,563 and 69,700 respectively.²

SARKAR OF MULTAN: (i) Bet Jalandhar Doab:- The names of the forts are not available, but the total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed at the different nine stations was 1,410 and 17,100 respectively.³

(ii) Bari Doab:- There were only two brick forts situated at Islamabad and Multan town and the total strength of cavalry and infantry at eleven stations in this area was 775 and 14,550 respectively.⁴

(iii) Rachna Doab:- There were five stations where 770 cavalry and 9,500 infantry was kept.⁵

(iv) Sindh-Sagar Doab:- There were only four stations where 220 cavalry and 2,000 infantry was stationed.⁶

(v) Birun-i-Paninad:- There were only three brick forts, situated at Dudai, Mauh, and Marot. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed at seventeen stations was 5,800 and 57,600 respectively.⁷

SARKAR OF DIPALPUR: (i) Bet Jalandhar Doab:- There were five brick forts, situated at Pakpattan, Dipalpur, Dhanakshah, Qabula and Qiampur Lakhi and the total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed here and other five more stations was 2,400 and 20,400 respectively.⁸

(ii) Bari Doab:- There was only one fort and strength of cavalry and infantry stationed, with other five stations was 1,100 and 14,000

1. - - - o . , arre t,P.
2. .PP.3 328
3. .P.331
4. .P.332
5. .P.332
6. .P.333
7. .P.333
8. .P.334

¹
respectively.

(iii) Rechna Doab:- The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed at the seven different stations was 710 and 6,300² respectively.

(iv) Birun-i-Panind:- The total strength of cavalry and infantry³ stationed at six stations was 1,000 and 12,300 respectively.

1. SARKAR HISAR FIROZAH:- In this Sarkar, which was some times attached to the Subah of Delhi had six brick forts at Atkhera, Bhatner, Dhatrat, Fatahabad, Mukim and Hansi. The total strength of cavalry and infantry of this Sarkar at twenty-six different stations⁴ was 6,875 and 60,800 respectively.

ii. SARKAR OF SIRHIND:- There were twelve brick forts in the Sarkar, situated at Pael, Tihara (on the Satluj), Thanesar, Khizrabad, Rugar, Sirhind, Sunam, Sadhura, Kaithal, Ghuram, Ludhiana and Machhiwara. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in this Sarkar including⁵ twenty more stations was 9,225 and 55,700 respectively.

1. Ain-i-Akbari-Vol.II arre ,P.

2. Ibid.P.335

3. Ibid.P.335

4. Ibid.PP:298-300

5. Ibid.PP:300-301

APPENDIX - D

IMPORTANT ROADS AND ROUTES

The Principal means of communications of the Panjab were the roads which connected Delhi and Lahore, Lahore and Multan, Lahore and Kashmir, Lahore and Attock, Lahore and Kangra, Delhi and Multan. There were some equally other important roads such as the Hindustan-Tibet-Road, which ran from the Shipki pass on the frontier of the Chinese Empire to Simla.

The Indian rulers regarded the building of roads with rest houses, as a pious duty. But the Sultans of Delhi showed little care for such useful public works and their treasury and energy were spent mainly on such unproductive work as building mosques or destroying¹ old cities to build new ones to perpetuate their own names.

Among Muslim kings, Sher Shah may be called the pioneer who took the real interest for such useful public works and his glory lies in the great roads built by him, which have kept his memory still green in the minds of his countrymen. For the safety of his vast empire, he considered it imperative^e to build roads all over the country. The longest as well as the best-known among these was the one running from Sonargaon (near Dacca now in East Pakistan) to the Indus,² 1500 kms in length. It was "the greatest highway in the world". The roads were admirably planned, connecting together all the strategic frontier cities; on any threatened point the armies of the Empire³ could be concentrated rapidly.

On either side of the roads were planted fruit trees, and beside these were erected carvan sarais with separate lodgings for Muslims and Hindus. Grain and fodder were supplied for horses and

1. -W.H. o i c ,P.
2. -Douie,P.127
3. - o . , ot and Dowson,P.417
- i -Vol.II,Ranking,P.472
- o .I,Text,P.225

cattle, and each caravan sarai contained a well and a mosque of burnt brick, with a 'muazzin', and 'imam' and several watchmen. "Once a traveller has occupied the rooms allotted to him nobody else may turn him out."¹ All these caravan sarais were maintained from the land attached to every sarai. In every such halting stations two horses were kept ready, so that news from great distances might reach as early as possible.² These sarais served as halting stations of state officials and were the stations of conveyance of news by relays of horses. "By dak-chauki, news reached Sher Shah (also to the Mughal Emperors later) every day from Nilab (The Indus) and the extremity of Bengal."³

The Grand Trunk Road from Agra to Attock was marked out by tall pillars (Kos-minars) twenty to thirty feet high and two and half mile apart. Though the roads were unmetalled, yet these were clearly defined, in some cases by avenues of trees, and more generally by the sarais, stated above. "In northern India, these routes were, in some cases at least, suitable for wheeled traffic and long lines of carts might occasionally be seen."⁴

The rivers were usually crossed by bridges of boats. Such bridges as there were constituted great barriers, perforated with numerous small pointed arches, affording considerably less waterway than the area of obstruction presented by the massive piers, which were founded on shallow wells and supported a continuous floor. Ordinarily, rivers were crossed at fords by ferries or bridges of boats, and the passage became extremely difficult when the streams were in flood. Akbar's chief engineer, Qasim Khan, was specially skilful in the construction of bridges of boats for the passage of

1. - as oy and ,P.
2. o . , E ot and Bowson,P.417
3. - Nizam-ud-din Ahmed,Text,P.232
- Vol.I,Text,P.228
4. - Moreland,PP.6-7

imperial army. He built several such bridges over the rivers of the Panjab in 1531.¹

The most important road of the Panjab, of this period, was from that of Agra to Attock, Lahore being the rendezvous of all the main roads and routes of the Panjab. From a political and military point of view, its consequence can hardly be over-rated as binding together all the then important northern cantonments and maintaining communication with Peshawar, the greatest frontier station. In this respect this road was of the greatest strategic importance to the Panjab and to India, but to the Panjab it conferred another great benefit by forming a great highway, passing through the upper districts, the chief cities, commanding the entrance to Hazara and giving access at several points to Kashmir. It thus constituted a great artery from which numerous branches separated off in various directions. Lastly, it was the great outlet and channel for the import and export trade between India, Central Asia and the West.²

The next, important road of the Panjab was that of Lahore to Multan. Multan was well situated (as even today) for purposes of trade on account of the three rivers which pass through the province of Multan and which join not far from the city. Multan is on the trade route from Iran through Kandhar to India.³ It would be curious to note that at the time of the British occupation of the Panjab, the caravan which travelled from Delhi to Ghazni, the two most important cities of the Muslim Empire - followed this most difficult and circuitous route. Emerging from the passes of the Suleiman Range at Dera Ismail Khan, they toiled through the wilds of the Sindh Sagar Doab to Multan and then turned northwards to Lahore; thence they proceeded to Ferozepur and Ludhiana. Sometimes they travelled downwards from Multan to Baha

1. -Smith, P
2. -omas Holditch, PP. 80-82
3. -De Last (Hoyland), P. 73

alpur. The two ancient trade-routes in these regions were (a) From Dera Ismail Khan via Mankhera, Shorkot, Harappa, Pakpattan, Fasilka, Samana to Delhi; (b) From Dera Ghazi Khan via Multan, the route proceeded to meet the former one at Pakpattan. Pakpattan was the famous ferry over the Sattlej. These roads often passed through arid and desolate tracts, and wells and hostelrys were provided at suitable intervals without which these would have been useless.

These roads had made Lahore, Multan, Sialkot, Gujrat, Attock, Dipalpur, Pathankot, Bajwara, Sultanpur and Sirhind the great centres of trade. ¹ Twelve to fourteen thousand loaded camels passed through Lahore every year. ² Traders of different nationalities viz. Armanians, Aleppo and Gujratis had settled in Lahore and they carried on trade with foreign countries on a large scale. Lahore was also a great ³ market for Indigo.

THE MAIN ROUTES

A. DELHI TO LAHORE:- (1) Badli, 9 miles north west of Delhi railway junction. (2) Warela, 16 miles. (3) Sonipat, 27 miles. (4) Gansur, 37 miles. (5) Samalkha, 44 miles - Also known as Sambal-ki-Sari. This part of the country was exceptionally dangerous, being infested by the robbers. (6) Panipat, 55 miles. (7) Gharanda, 66 miles. (8) Sarai Pul, 72 miles. (9) Karnal, 76 miles. (10) Taraori, 84 miles. ⁵ (11) Azimbad, just before the Nai Nadi (River) is crossed. (12) Thanesar, 25 miles south-east of Ambala on the Grand Trunk Road towards Delhi. Here the Saraswati river was crossed. (13) Shahbad, (Markanda) 111 miles. (14) Ambala, 123 miles. (15) Serai Noon, (16) Serai Hajjam, (17) Todar Mal, (18) Aluwa, 18 miles north of Ambala. (19) Sirhind, 30 miles north of Ambala. (20) Khanna, 42 miles from Ambala. (21) Serai Laskkari Khan, 52 miles. (22) Doraha, 55 miles. (23) Ludhiana, the town was situated

1. De la - ... oy , PP. 2

2. Early Travels-Pur as, .

3. Voyage to East India-Edward Terry.P.30

4. The Empire of the Great Mughal-De Laet (Hoyland), P.49

5. "It was a fortified place". Ibid.

6. There was another route which was very popular up to the reign of Jahangir, and separated from the above route at Sirhind; it led through Machhiwara, Rupar, Rahon, Rajaga, Serai Noor-ud-din, Adina Nagar, Patial Kalanaur and Serai Amanat Khan; then to Lahore. Sirh was a big halting station and sometimes it was the base of supplies for the war operations towards the North-west Frontier Province of India.

7. Doraha, means two routes. Rupar and Rahon route was followed from here. The caravans generally used to go from here to Rupar, Rahon, Garhshan kar, Bajwara, Haryana, Dasuya, Pathankot, Sialkot, Gujrat and so onward.

on the left bank of the Sattlej. Since then the river has shifted its bed, nine miles towards the north. (24) Philaour, 11 miles north, north-west of Ludhiana on the Grand Trunk Road. (25) Noor Mahal, 8 miles from Philaour. (26) Nikodar, 20 miles. (27) Dakhani (Serai), 25 miles, also known as Jahangirpura. (28) Sultanpur - 40 miles. Here the Kalna Nadi (River) was crossed immediately west of the town and the Beas river, 6 miles further north-west at the ferry of Bacoopur. (29) Fatehabad, 43 miles from Philaour and 13 miles from Sultanpur. (Naurangabad, 8 miles north west of Fatehabad and 4 miles south-east of Tarn Taran. (31) Serai Noor-ud-din, 8 miles from Naurangabad to the north-west. (32) Kanehni-da-pul, 9 miles to the north west of Hoshiarnagar towards Lahore from Amritsar. (33) Hoshiarnagar, 5 miles north of Sarai Amanat Khan and 21 miles east of Lahore and Shab Garh, 34 miles.

B. LAHORE TO ATTOCK:- The road from Lahore to Attock was infested with Pathan brigands, and although the Great Mughals established twenty guard stations of armed troops at regular intervals nevertheless travellers were frequently robbed by these brigands. "The size small or ill-prepared bodies of strangers, drag them away into the recesses of the mountains, and enslave them; they even mutilate their captives to prevent their escaping?"

The stages of the journeys were as follows:- (1) Shahdara, 3 miles north of Lahore fort on the other side of the Ravi. (2) Fazilabad, 15 miles from Lahore to the north. (3) Pul Shah Daula, 23 miles from Lahore on the Degh river. (4) Eminabad, 23 miles from Lahore and 9 miles south of Gujranwala. (5) Hakimabadpur (6) Ghakhar Cheema, 11 miles north of Gujranwala. (7) Wazirabad, 10 miles to the north from Ghakhar Cheema, after this the Chenab is crossed. (8) Gujrat, 9 miles to the north of Wazirabad. (9) Khawazpur, 11 miles north, north-west of Gujrat and 6 miles south-west and west of Daulat Nagar. Then the Bhimber river is crossed. (10) Kharian (Kinari) 12 miles north-west, a pass. (11) Khariaala, 14 miles from Khawazpur. (12) Sarai Alamgir, 3 miles north of the Jhelum river. (13) Naurangabad, near Sarai Alamgir. (14) Chakoa, 9 miles north-west of Rohtas fort. (15) Khurda Jalal 20 miles north of Rohtas fort. (16) Paka, 10 miles north west of Sarai Jalal Khan. (17) Rowat, 13 miles south east of Rawalpindi. (18) Lashkari. (19) Rawalpindi. (20) Kalapani, 17 miles north west of Rawalpindi. (21) Hassan Abdal, 9 miles north-west of Kalapani (Panja Sahib). (22) Madrata, 19 miles north west and west of Hassan Abdal, and (23) Attock 8 miles, on the eastern bank of the Indus.

C. LAHORE TO MULTAN:- (1) Abul Hasan. (2) Aurangabad, (3) Naushehra - South west of Lahore. (4) Mapalki, 14 miles south west of Naushehra. (5) Satghara, 14 miles south of Mapalki. (6) Khan Kamalawala, 20 miles south west and west of Satghara. (7) Chauki Fattu (Jhok), 13 miles north east of Harappa. (8) Harappa. (9) Chichawatni, 13 miles south-west and west of Harappa. (10) Sahawa Charib, 6 miles south Chichawatni, (11) Talamba, 10 miles from Channu railway station, (12) Sard, 19 miles north of Sarai Sidhoo. (13) Khalid (Kulalpur), 8 miles north of Sard, and (14) Mardampur, 36 miles from Multan to the north east.

D. LAHORE TO KASHMIR:- From Lahore the route to Kashmir was common vi

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| 1. | | oy | ,PP. |
| 2. | | -De Laet (Hoyland | ,P.70 |
| 3. | | -De Laet (Hoyland | ,P.69 |
| 4. | ea | -De Let (Hoyland), | P.78 |

that of Attock, up to Gujrat already given under (B) above. It separated from Gujrat to Siri Nagar. (1) Daulat Nagar, 12 miles north of Gujrat, (2) Bhimber, 16 miles north of Daulatnagar on the western bank of the Bhimber river. (3) Chauki Hati, 7 miles north of Bhimber, on the western bank of the Tavi river. (4) Naushehra, 16 miles north of Bhimber, on the western bank of the Ravi River. (5) Chinges Hati, 6 miles north, north-east of Naushehra, (6) Inayatpur (Moradpur), 7 miles north-west of Chinges Sarai. (7) Rajaur, 16 miles north, north-east of Naushehra, (8) Thana (Thanna Bazar), 13 miles north of Rajaur (9) Barangula, 5 miles north-east, north of Thanna. (10) Poshana, 2 miles from Barangula. (11) Sarai Ali Mardan Ali Khan (Sarai Muhammad Kuli) about four miles onward (12) Sa'id Hala, Sarai Sokhta (13) Hirpur, 10 miles north of Poshana. (14) Shadi Marg (Shajamarg), 6 miles from Hirpur. (15) Khanpur, 13 miles north, north-east of Hirpur (16) Srinagar, 11 miles from Khanpur to the north.

Before the advent of the Great Mughals the most important road from the North-West Frontier to Delhi was through Tulamba to Pakpattan, Dipalpur, Fatehabad, Rajpur, Ahrwan, and Tohana to Delhi.

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1. *The History of the Punjab* - O. S. , (1615,
A. . . , P.1
The India of Aurangzeb-Jadunath Sarkar, PP.CC VII
•ROSHAN LAL•

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